STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

THE Nation

VOLUME 145 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • SEPTEMBER 18, 1937 NUMBER 12

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The Shape of Things

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THIS WEEK THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION reaches the 150th year of its existence. It is old and tough. It merits respect because it has served well the purposes for which it was written. But it merits no reverential awe; it is neither symbol nor fetish; on the contrary, it is a political instrument to be used or changed according to the requirements of the society which employs it. It needs to be changed today to insure that the wishes of the majority of the people expressed through Congress may make themselves effective; to insure that the financial and industrial forces at large in the modern world may be brought under social control. Specifically, the Constitution must be changed to end the unrestricted power of the Supreme Court to veto legislation. This change will be fought by important interests and influential groups of citizens, the same for the most part that fought the President's legislative program for court reform.

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THESE GROUPS HAVE BEEN WITH US ALWAYS. They dominated the framing of the Constitution; they voted for its ratification. Their identity and interests were defined once and for all by Charles A. Beard in his historic essay on "The Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States." We quote from Dr. Beard's conclusion:

> The movement for the Constitution of the United States was originated and carried through principally by four groups of personalty interests which had been adversely affected under the Articles of Confederation: money, public securities, manufactures, and trade and shipping.
>
> The first firm steps toward the formation of the Constitution were taken by a small and active group of men immediately interested through their personal possessions in the outcome of their labors. . . .
>
> The propertyless masses under the prevailing suffrage qualifications were excluded at the outset from participation (through representatives) in the work of framing the Constitution.
>
> The members of the Philadelphia conventions which drafted the Constitution were, with a few exceptions, immediately, directly, and personally interested in, and derived economic advantages from, the establishment of the new system.
>
> The Constitution was essentially an economic document based upon the concept that the fundamental

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> private rights of property are anterior to government and morally beyond the reach of popular majorities.

That concept is still dominant in the minds of those who believe the Constitution to be beyond criticism or change. If it is to be made into an instrument for the protection of the rights and interests of the generalty, rather than of "personalty," the change must be brought about through the will of those whose will has been overruled in the name of the Constitution.

*

THE CHARGES MADE AGAINST JUSTICE BLACK by the *Post-Gazette* of Pittsburgh are serious. They are, in brief, that Justice Black joined the Ku Klux Klan in 1923, that he resigned in 1925 just before a campaign for the Democratic nomination for United States Senator in order to be able to deny that he was a member, but that this resignation was never acted upon formally and that after a successful campaign he accepted a life-membership card. These charges directly controvert the impression given out by Black's supporters, and hence presumably by Black himself, at the time of his appointment to the court that he had accepted Ku Klux Klan support—along with labor backing—but had never actually been a member of an organization whose primary principle is "white supremacy." Membership in the Klan, under any circumstances and for any reason, is not to be lightly dismissed when a Supreme Court justiceship or any other public office is involved. At the same time Justice Black's record for the past ten years in Congress has been so consistently liberal and even radical that *The Nation* whole-heartedly supported his nomination in spite of the rumors of an earlier political flirtation with the Klan. We shall continue to defend Justice Black on the basis of his record unless it can be proved beyond doubt that he has consciously maintained his connection, if it ever existed, with the Klan. We shall do so all the more vigorously because the present attack comes from the same general source from which has come the hysterical and reactionary opposition to the President's court plan and to every other attempt to curb the industrial and financial oligarchy. But in justice to his friends Justice Black himself must now explain fully his alleged connection with the Klan.

*

WHILE THE LOSS OF MACHANG AND THE retreat from Shanghai represent definite setbacks for China, the events of the past week afford no reason for serious discouragement. It has been apparent for several weeks that the Chinese could put up more effective resistance if they would withdraw beyond the range of the Japanese naval guns. The withdrawal also ends the danger that the Chinese troops in the Yangtzepoo section might be cut off and destroyed, a danger that has existed since the early days of struggle in the Shanghai area. The loss of Machang, thirty miles south of Tientsin, may be taken as another indication of the difficulty of holding out against mass Japanese attacks, but its effect was more than offset, from a strategic point of view, by the success of the guerrilla forces operating in the Western Hills, outside of Peiping, in cutting off and destroying a detachment of 4,000 Japanese troops which had been sent against them. None of these developments approach in significance, however, the final settlement of the long struggle between Nanking and the Chinese Communists. For this not only brings 200,000 veterans of the Chinese red army into the struggle on a front where their guerrilla tactics are likely to show up to the best advantage but provides full assurance that there will be no compromise with Japan.

*

THE TREASURY'S ACTION IN LIBERATING $300,000,000 of its "sterilized" gold as an offset to the recent stock-market collapse is significant chiefly for the use of a new device in monetary management. Since there was no actual shortage in money or credit, the move cannot be expected to affect prices or stimulate business activity. It does, however, indicate that the Administration intends to leave no stone unturned in its efforts to find a method of moderating the business cycle. In the present instance it is working in the dark because no one has yet been able to advance a convincing explanation for the decline of the market. The war threat obviously existed chiefly in the columns of papers which were interested in boosting sales and, if real, should have been a factor in raising rather than lowering stock prices. Conservative papers have tried valiantly to show that the decline was the result of the restrictive policies adopted by the New Deal, but their case is considerably weakened by the fact that the recent Congress failed to pass any of the measures which were particularly frightening to business. The truth is that a slight slackening in business activity has taken place and this, with the war scare, gave the speculators a bad case of jitters. While there is some evidence that the natural forces of recovery have about run their course, we find no justification for hysteria.

*

THE ONLY NEW ATTRACTION AT NURNBERG this year was the presence of the diplomats of the principal democratic countries. They were displayed in a private car which had been graciously provided by the Führer; and seventeen military scouting planes welcomed them by flying over in the form of a swastika. As a prelude to their appearance, which was limited to one day, Propaganda Minister Goebbels made an unrestrained attack on democracy, and Otto Dietrich, Nazi press chief, carried on with taunts at "the powerless governments of democracy." Dr. Dietrich also paid his respects to the gentlemen of the press, particularly those representing New York papers, whose duty he said it was to "tell lies and bow down in the temple of Mammon." For the rest there were parades and more parades, in which a nation of slaves walked past their master, cheering wildly his threats of war abroad and of hunger at home. That any diplomat of a democratic country should have been allowed, let alone instructed, to witness such a spectacle and thereby passively condone it almost merits the sneer

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of Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, who also spoke. Democracies, he said, are "piteously shortsighted and as terrified as a rabbit before a rattlesnake." Which reminds us that of all the name-calling that went on at Nürnberg, Dr. Rosenberg's designation of his leader as a rattlesnake strikes us as the neatest. The *Völkische Beobachter* please copy.

*

THE NEWSPAPER GUILD MEMBERSHIP, IN THE referendum just ended, upheld with one exception the actions of the St. Louis convention which led to a demand for a rank-and-file vote. Affiliation with the Committee for Industrial Organization was voted two to one, the vote being 3,392 to 1,691. The decision to broaden the jurisdiction of the Guild to include other editorial employees was also upheld by a large majority. The one decision which was reversed was a resolution condemning fascism in Spain, and here the vote was close—2,592 to 2,409. In general the votes on questions having political implications were relatively close. Indorsement of independent political action was upheld by a vote of 2,774 to 2,202, the resolution for increased WPA appropriations by 2,815 to 2,178, and indorsement of the President's Supreme Court proposal by 2,685 to 2,271. These figures show that a majority of the membership approves of the resolutions adopted in St. Louis; they also indicate that opinion was sufficiently divided to have made a referendum essential.

War—East and West

The New Face of War

THE world is witnessing the collapse of the structure of international law and morality which had begun to crumble before the Great War. What the powers at that time began, fascist cynicism and ruthlessness are now completing. The ethic of political conduct is a common one today among the fascist powers of Europe and Asia: anything goes if you can get away with it; act first and explain afterward; assemble vast armaments in the name of peace and send armies of invasion in the name of non-intervention; destroy cities and blame the carnage on the victims; torpedo merchant vessels without warning and deny that your submarines are responsible; trample on treaties in the name of international order and wipe out populations in the name of international good-will. Use a stentorian voice and keep a straight face while indulging in the most cynical and outrageous lies.

"Will there be war?" is the question all people are asking. One answer is that there *is* war today—undeclared war in Spain, in the Mediterranean, in the Far East. Undeclared war has its advantages. It allows you to strike without warning. It gives you, as in the case of Italy and Germany in Spain, the effectiveness of a belligerent along with the status of a neutral. It enables you to stir up civil war under cover of diplomatic protection. But, above all, it enables you to escape the onus of having started the war. For except in imperialist conquest of obscure and "backward" tribes, we still cling to the notion that to begin a war requires some moral justification. And the experience of Germany shows that, even in dollars and cents, it does not pay to be labeled as having started a war.

War has become trans-national. Not since the European wars of religion have national boundaries meant so little. The struggle is now in its largest aspects one between fascism and democracy, with cross-currents of national and economic interest to confuse the issue. Whoever has a stake in either camp feels a strong urge to reach out across boundary lines and take a hand in the conflict. Thus far the fascist powers have combined to take the aggressive, using as auxiliary techniques civil war and the puppet state or the puppet military commander. They have encountered stiff opposition in the form of a people's front of anti-fascist forces both in Spain and in China.

To break this resistance has been the object of the unspeakable massacre of noncombatants carried out on a scale that marks a new chapter in the history of warfare. The bombing of defenseless cities in Spain and China and the machine-gunning of fleeing populations have served no direct military purpose. Their only object can have been to terrify the population and destroy morale. The dictators make use of their own mass populations and the mass populations on the other side in the same coldly instrumental way. The individual life has become terribly cheap. Even we in America, who watch in press and newsreels the progress of the horrible slaughter, who see mangled children and the decaying and distended bodies of noncombatants floating down a stream, are becoming more and more callous to destruction and terror. We require continually increased increments of horror to capture our attention or stir our indignation.

But the measure of this imperviousness is the measure also of isolationist sentiment in America, England, France. The growth of pacifist isolationism is the outstanding development of recent years. It is, to our mind, an unrealistic sentiment, which runs the danger of releasing the very wars it seeks to inhibit. But it is none the less strong and tenacious—a fact to be reckoned with. It is significant in that it runs counter to the economic interests of the Western powers in the East as well as to the dictates of collective security.

The Mediterranean Front

All hope of collective action in support of peace and in opposition to aggression has been abandoned in Europe. In its place the powers have erected a system of pretense and concealment; a technique of manipulating realities with unrealities. The method is complicated as well as devious, but the idea behind it is essentially simple and essentially British. It is based on Great Britain's desire for peace with the dictators at almost any price—even the price of democracy and the territorial integrity of the lesser nations. At the end of the present struggle in the West—which has spread

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from Spain into the Mediterranean—Britain would like to see Spain under an orderly, perhaps monarchist, preferably not openly fascist, government; Italy placated with recognition of its African empire and bound by a gentlemen's agreement to respectful behavior in the Mediterranean; Germany purged of all westward ambitions and endowed somehow with a measure of diplomatic finesse; France freed from leftism and its Soviet connection and securely tied to British Continental purposes; and Russia left to its fate at the hands of Germany and Japan.

Such in broad outline is British "ideology" in the present struggle on the Western front. It explains the "non-intervention" which has cloaked armed intervention, the patrol which failed to detect continual large-scale violations of non-intervention, the attempt to stage at Nyon a parley which would end piracy in the Mediterranean and at the same time prevent the detection and exposure of the pirate.

But occasionally the cat jumps out of the bag, either of its own accord or through the help of an interested onlooker. Mussolini torpedoed the strategy of pretense when he openly claimed for Italy the honor of the capture of Santander. The Soviet Union pretty well completed the job when it charged Italy with piracy and the sinking of two Russian ships. And Spain is contributing to the cause of realism by thrusting before the League Assembly this week its own complete bill of particulars against the fascist powers. We might deplore this break in the smooth front of fake and suppression if we believed, as so many of our contemporaries insist, that honesty meant general European war. We are convinced, on the contrary, that the price of capitulation to aggression is not peace but more aggression. The European fascist powers and Japan are not moved by the spectacle of weakness. Ethiopia was the direct result of Manchuria; the occupation of the Rhineland followed logically upon the Ethiopian conquest; the fascist invasion of Spain and every outrage that has accompanied it are the end results of the whole shameful record of surrender, evasion, hypocritical pretense.

To British statesmen Russia's open accusation of Italy was a shocking breach of what has come to seem normal diplomatic procedure, committed just when Great Britain had arranged everything with an eye to soothing, while also checking, the presumptive pirate. But despite British annoyance, the Soviet Union obviously achieved a substantial victory by its outburst of honesty. Italy and Germany stayed away from the conference—in itself a help since their presence would have insured a polite evasion of the real facts. And Britain was forced to take a stronger stand than it wished in order to prevent Russia from acting alone. The Russian threat was timed exactly to take advantage of a situation in which British prestige and British property were for the first time so clearly involved that some action was inevitable. But without the Russian pressure the action might well have been an agreement with Italy which would have operated to the complete disadvantage of the Soviet Union—and Spain. Such an agreement would almost certainly have more clearly granted belligerent rights to Franco, drawn Italy closer to Britain, and pushed Russia farther away. But if certain major objectives were achieved, the details of the Nyon arrangement leave much to be desired. The exact status of the Spanish government is still in doubt, and Mussolini is let down gently with an invitation to patrol the waters adjacent to Italy. The British and French will carry the greater share of the police work, and Russia's beat will be limited to the Black Sea. It is expected that both the Soviet and Spanish delegates at Geneva will protest certain unsatisfactory provisions of the agreement, but no serious opposition is looked for from any source.

For Spain the success of the patrol is a matter of life or death. Dispatches from Valencia indicate that acts of piracy had succeeded in stopping essential supplies—especially oil—from reaching Loyalist ports. Some vessels were sunk; many more were frightened off the sea. Without supplies from Russia, the Loyalists cannot win, while Franco can continue to get supplies as long as Italian pirate submarines rule the Mediterranean. The agreement at Nyon should result in partly opening the sea lanes again.

The Far Eastern Front

In many respects the Far Eastern struggle represents an advanced phase of the conflict in the West. The fascist elements of Japan have precipitated the invasion of China not only out of a desire for raw materials and markets but in order to maintain their prestige and dominance at home. The invasion also seems to have been planned to forestall an agreement between Nanking and the Chinese Communists.

The Japanese militarists completely miscalculated the strength of Chinese resistance. At first it was believed that a mere show of force would bring China to terms. If worst came to worst and resistance were attempted, it was felt that the Chinese would be so disunited as to offer only feeble opposition to the highly mechanized Japanese army. In fact, however, at no time in Chinese history has there been anything as closely approaching national unity as at the present moment. War lords like Yen Hsi-shan, Li Tsung-jen, and Pai Chung-hsi, who in the past have consistently opposed the government, have placed their armies directly under Chiang's command. Even more significant is the settlement of the ten-year war between Nanking and the Chinese soviets. The red army, known as the most efficient military force in China, has been rechristened the Chinese Eighth Route Army and has moved into Suiyuan and Shansi, where it may shortly come into actual conflict with the Japanese. A further indication of the abandonment of Nanking's anti-Communist campaign may be seen in the release of Mr. and Mrs. Ruegg, who had been serving a long sentence at Nanking for Communist activities.

The Far Eastern conflict differs from that in Spain in that no attempt has so far been made to insulate the world from its effects. A non-intervention agreement such as has been applied in the Spanish struggle is unthinkable in China because it would involve the surrender of Western

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interests to the Japanese. And the stake of the Western powers, particularly Great Britain and the United States, is too great for such a move. The situation is complicated, however, not only by the threatening situation in the Mediterranean but by the considerable body of influential Tory opinion in England which would look upon a Japanese victory as a welcome alternative to communism in China. That the Soviet Union, facing the threat of a Japanese invasion of Siberia, will extend material assistance to China is to be taken for granted. In spite of Japan's control of important lines of communication, supplies can be sent through. It may also be assumed that this assistance has been promised in return for political concessions such as have already been granted in the rapprochement between Nanking and the Chinese soviets. But what British conservatives have been slow to see in China, as in Spain, is that a vast difference exists between Communist participation in a popular front dominated by moderate groups and actual Communist rule.

Despite the division of Tory opinion, the chance of a strong British policy in the East is considerably better than in Spain. The whole question of British prestige, which was not at stake in Spain until the recent attacks on British shipping, has already been raised by the attack on the British ambassador. Moreover, as the Japanese move south, the threat to material British interests will become increasingly direct. Alone, Britain can do little to stop Japanese aggression. But with the cooperation of France, the United States, and the Soviet Union it would be possible, as in 1895 and 1922, to force Japan to give up its immediate territorial ambitions in China. Under present circumstances this can only be achieved through American leadership.

American Policy

American policy in the present crisis will of necessity be forged by conflicting pressures—economic, sentimental, and traditional. There is no large country in the world, save possibly China, where isolationist sentiment is as strong as in the United States. Yet, paradoxically, there are few countries which possess such an overwhelming passion to make the world over according to their own pattern. American missionaries greatly outnumber those of Communist Russia or Nazi Germany and are as a group fully as confident of the universal applicability of America's social and political philosophy. The foreign policy of the United States is also influenced by deep-seated national prejudices, many of which have been carried over from the Old World.

It is scarcely surprising that these conflicts in interest and sentiment should result in contradictory policies. The Neutrality Act, for example, is a direct outgrowth of isolationist sentiment, while the Nine-Power Pact, the Open Door policy in China, and the Monroe Doctrine are reflections of expansionist economic policies which have equally deep roots. The surrender of the Philippines and the withdrawal of American citizens from China stand in sharp contrast to the Administration's new naval program.

The Mediterranean piracy crisis, however, dramatically demonstrates the limitations of the isolationist theory that the United States should never seek to protect its overseas interests lest it become involved in war. Modern civilization is dependent very largely upon the freedom of the seas. While the world accepts certain limitations on that freedom in time of war, irresponsible attacks on peace-time shipping threaten the existence of world trade. Fortunately, the United States has not been called upon to send ships to the Mediterranean. It is probable that the immediate situation can be handled by Great Britain and France with only moral support from the United States. But what if Japan tears a leaf from Mussolini's notebook and inaugurates an "unofficial" blockade against foreign shipping destined for China? Should the United States withdraw its ships from the infested areas and allow piracy to obtain *de facto* recognition, or should it combine with the other powers in an effort to restore safety to the seas? The issues raised by Italian piracy in the Mediterranean differ only in geographic location from those involved in Japan's illegal invasion of China. What violation of law could be worse than making an unprovoked attack on a peaceful, law-abiding neighbor, laying waste its cities, murdering tens of thousands of its citizens, and seizing its meager economic resources?

Thus far the Administration has pursued a simple opportunist policy in the Far Eastern crisis. It has played up to isolationist sentiment by arranging for the evacuation of several thousand Americans from the war zones and by asserting that those who remain do so at their own risk. But it has delayed application of the Neutrality Act and has taken steps to protect American interests in China. It has made no effort, either individually or in concert with the other powers, to check Japanese aggression or to devise measures for protection against future aggressors.

Such a policy may represent a skilful middle course between conflicting domestic pressures, but it involves serious dangers. It affords neither the limited safety of a wholly isolationist policy nor the more adequate protection which would be provided by a system of collective security. Any attempt to protect national interests in the East is dangerous if it is undertaken unilaterally. Until recently there has been no natural channel for collective action. The Nine-Power Pact carries no obligation for action and provides no machinery for the enforcement of its terms. This mechanism has now been provided by China's appeal to the League under Article XVII of the Covenant. The United States is a member of the Far Eastern Advisory Committee of the League and is in a position not only to cooperate but to take the initiative in proposing collective penalties against the aggressor. It should also be possible for the League, with the aid of the United States, to provide a channel whereby the powers may give active economic support to the victim of aggression. Left to itself, the League is most unlikely to take steps to curb Japan. But given American leadership, the necessity of defending Western interests may force the powers to the only action which can save the world from chaos and war.

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Pirates and British Policy

BY LOUIS FISCHER

Geneva, September 13

FOR Moscow and Valencia the issue at Nyon was whether a situation could be created in the Mediterranean which would allow Soviet arms to reach Spain. The Italian submarine campaign was inaugurated on the assumption that after the fall of Bilbao and the impending fall of Santander had robbed the republic of its Biscay ports, a blockade in the Mediterranean would cut off Russian supplies and quickly bring about a Loyalist collapse. Mussolini is having trouble at home. There have recently been strikes and peasant revolts in Italy, and the cost of the Spanish war is becoming an irritating burden. Il Duce needs an early triumph, and he knows he cannot have it on the battlefield. On September 8, in the *Popolo d'Italia,* the Burgos correspondent, Barzini, stated: "We must not imagine an easy, rapid victory." Warning against optimism, he added that the Loyalists' "resistance can become very solid and very tenacious. . . . We must not believe the enemy to be weak and ill-prepared." The interruption of arms importations, however, would undermine Valencia's strength—and that was Mussolini's object.

London and Paris manifested alarm as soon as the first Spanish steamer was torpedoed near the Dardanelles by "an unknown submarine." (It is being said that in Rome a grave has been prepared for the unknown submarine by the side of the unknown soldier.) Soviet shipments to Spain would never have been made without the connivance, and perhaps even the good-will, of England and France. Now these powers saw the possibility of shipments ceasing.

Members of the French General Staff have informed their government that the army could not accept responsibility for the defense of France if the Spanish rebels won. The French know that Germany lost the World War because it had two fronts. Franco's success would give France three. The French nationalists are more perturbed than they were before. Last week a well-founded rumor circulated in Paris that the French government had intended immediately to open the frontier to Valencia-controlled territory but that Eden wore out the wires urging caution upon Chautemps and Delbos.

The British are too worried about the Mediterranean to look on with equanimity while Italy shows it can do as it pleases there—to the length even of enforcing a blockade against commercial shipping, British included. The Admiralty could hardly have enjoyed such a picture. British men-of-war received orders to shoot to kill. And Britain may be indisposed to see Valencia lose to Franco. Some Englishmen still nourish the illusion that after Mussolini and Hitler have shed the blood of tens of thousands of their nationals and spent hundreds of millions of dollars in order that Franco may win, they will gallantly step aside and say to the British: "We did all this for you. Please come in and take our places." More realistic and more Machiavellian British politicians maintain that the prolongation of the civil war will so preoccupy the fascist powers that England will have a peaceful respite for rearmament, and they hope that the struggle will leave both belligerents so exhausted that England may step into the role of mediator. Hence London's interest in the continuation of Russian aid. To gain time Neville Chamberlain also proposes a four-power pact with France, Germany, and Italy, and Eden makes pro-Italian gestures at Nyon. In any case the British want no immediate peace—and the Nyon decisions serve their purpose. They may not finish Italian piracy but they will prevent a tight blockade.

At Nyon Litvinov alone championed the Spanish republic's cause. That is all that is left of the League of Nations anti-aggression covenant. The Russians feel their international position improved by Japan's involvement in China. Japan cannot now attack Russia. Therefore, and for other reasons too, Germany cannot attack. Moscow can now do more to check world fascism in Spain.

Meanwhile a sorry spectacle is being enacted on the windy shores of Lake Leman. Spain has been invaded. The League could at least give moral comfort; it could reelect Spain to the council seat which it has occupied since 1928. Spain's failure to be reelected would bring joy to the fascists inside and outside Spain and constitute a blow to the League patriots and to the whole pacifist movement. What good is a League which does not refrain from spitting into the face of a victim of aggression? But the Duke of Alba has been here to interview the Latin American delegates and persuade them to vote against Spain in the council. This Spanish "nationalist" may have met with some success.

The Nyon resolutions would still permit submarines to sink steamers in gentlemanly fashion, but most definite assurances have been given to certain powers that Italy will hereafter refrain from torpedoing ships. The British and French will have some eighty war units in the Mediterranean, and Mussolini knows they mean business. The Spaniards, however, are not so sure that submarines or destroyers which Italy can "sell" to Franco won't operate in Valencia's territorial waters, where patrol vessels—this at the moment is uncertain—may not enter. The fact that the British today foiled an Italian attempt through the Greek delegate Politis to exclude Ethiopia from the League would seem to indicate that London thinks it desirable to show a kid-gloved but firm hand before the fascist dictators meet in Germany.

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Neutrality—a Dangerous Myth

BY GEOFFREY STONE

I HATE fascism. My heart is with the Spanish Loyalists. Yet if it were possible to insulate the United States from the world, to retire into our shell, to plow our fields and write our books and raise our children untouched by quarrels across the sea, if I felt we should be uninfected by a victory for reaction abroad, I would be for isolationist neutrality legislation. America was not born to set the universe aright. War is nightmare. Europe, unable to organize itself, despite the common heritage and the economic blood vessels that link its nations, may be doomed. Why should we risk sharing its fate?

But I do not believe insulation and isolation possible. I believe that we have taken the world for better or worse, and that there is no Reno in which we can cut the nuptial bonds welded by modern industrialism. I think that neutrality legislation of any sort is no more than a breeder of delusions, that it will break down in the event of another world war, that another world war is coming, that we shall ultimately be drawn in; that it would be better for us, by boldly taking our stand with *the* League or *a* League or some other form of collective action, to throw our weight on the side of peace and against aggression. I see no other possible way of averting war. I see no way to keep out of another world war, once it starts.

Must we play nursemaid to the world? I am afraid so. Two hundred years ago scattered agricultural communities along our Atlantic Coast might have been little affected by European preparations for war or the tread of marching men, though even in the simpler world of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries every major European war had its repercussions on this continent. Had the Armada been victorious, the Pilgrim Fathers would have been Spanish grandees; and North American institutions would have drawn their characteristics from a transplanted feudalism, not from an emerging middle class's desire for greater freedom. If Louis XIV had not been so anxious to place a Bourbon on the throne of Spain, Canada might still be French. If the English had not pressed Napoleon so hard, the tricolor might still fly over the plains between the Mississippi and the Rockies. Europe's conflicts seemed remote because others, principally the British, fought our battles, decided our destinies.

It has been assumed that to maintain the peace we need only pass a law. I think the time has come to examine that assumption. The last war showed that trade with belligerents soon becomes trade with one side, the side that gains control of the seas, that in the long run this trade can only be financed by loans, that the loans create a vested interest in the victory of the debtor, that creditor interests will use their economic power to make propaganda for intervention lest the debtor be defeated and the loans be lost. This is an oversimplification. But it is nevertheless the oversimplification on which neutrality legislation rests.

The advocates of neutrality legislation and of isolation believe that we must avoid the economic entanglements that draw us into diplomatic entanglements, thence into war. This policy, to be successful, must be thoroughgoing. In the event of another world war it would necessitate embargos not only on munitions but on the cotton, wheat, coal, iron, and oil that are as necessary to the warring nations as bullets. It would mean keeping our ships out of the war zone, selling nothing to either side, making no loans to either. Cash-and-carry is a loophole that would only whet the appetite for war orders, without providing enough business to cushion the impact of embargos on our economy; a device to remain neutral in a world war yet help Britain.

The advocates of neutrality legislation—with all respect for their sincerity and their ardent desire to keep us out of war—apparently fail to realize the economic consequences. The chemical lobby has hammered home the fact that less than a tenth of our total production is sold abroad, and the over-all figure has lulled us into complacence. Break the figure down, and the devastating effects of isolation on whole areas of our economy and our country rise to view. In normal times we sell about half our cotton abroad, a fifth of our wheat, a third of our oil. It is estimated that 2,000,000 Americans are directly dependent on foreign trade for their bread and butter. Many industries would lose their profit margins if they could no longer—thanks to our tariffs—dump their surpluses abroad at less than the price they charge for their products at home. Texas, which produces 90 per cent of its cotton for export; the California valleys, which must sell a large portion of their fruit abroad; the Middle Western wheat and corn country, which depends on the export margin for a profitable price; the business section of our great ports—these would be struck, as though by a plague, by isolation. What are we to do about the bread lines, the unemployment, the falling prices, the panicky markets, the bankruptcies, the dispossessed croppers, that would follow in the wake of the neutrality embargos required to keep us out of a world war? On political grounds what Administration would dare to face such a prospect?

Unless we have the answers ready in advance, the pressure for abandonment of neutrality legislation will be irresistible. Pro-neutrality newspapers will find their passion for peace crumbling when advertisers want war orders. Pro-neutrality legislators will begin to fear the

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effects of five-cent cotton and fifty-cent wheat. The emotions generated by the conflict will provide the energy for a change in policy; the ideas in which these emotions embody themselves will provide the necessary excuse. We shall sell again, lend again, fight again—in a war that might have been prevented had we thrown our influence on the side of peace. We run the risk of repeating Britain's mistake of 1914. The failure of the English openly to commit themselves to France, the consequent German illusion that England would not intervene if Austria attacked Serbia and Germany marched across Belgium, helped loose the hounds of war. There would have been hesitation, there might have been peace, if "all authoritative quarters" in the Reich—I refer to the July 12, 1914, dispatch of the Austrian ambassador at Berlin to his home government—had not been sure that the time was favorable for strong measures because Britain would not intervene. A neutrality program that fails to prepare in advance for an economic crisis deludes people into the comfortable assurance that we need to take no measures to prevent war; we can merely stay out of a war. Neutrality would almost certainly be abandoned soon after the outbreak of a world war unless a program were immediately available to fill the gap created in our economy by the sudden loss of foreign markets.

Is a program of this kind possible? I doubt it. What would it involve? One envisages a general staff for peace, as we have a general staff for war. One outlines a mobilization plan for peace, as we have a mobilization plan for war. One pictures a central government bureau with all the facts at its disposal: the extent to which virtual loss of foreign trade would affect prices, jobs, and values, the amount of lending needed to bolster markets and provide employment, the possibility of new markets at home in the shape of new uses for our basic products and higher living standards for our people. Carried away by the possibilities, one imagines an America geared to fight a peace rather than a war, pouring out millions for construction, clearing slums, ending floods, halting the deserts encroaching on our Western plains, building a new America, a richer, happier America, while the Old World, in a frenzy, spills its blood and treasure.

The prospect is inspiring, but is it possible? I doubt it. It can be reduced to blueprints. It is as simple as arithmetic. It is sane and it is sensible. But it won't work. True, we mobilize for war. Why not for peace? But we make a profit on war. There are dividends in war. Our whole economic machine is geared to profits, and war means profits—at least in the immediate sense. But peace with isolation means a loss, and our boards of directors are not convened to pass altruistic resolutions. A war between two powers, even a war among a few powers, is not a problem. We can keep out, neutrality embargos or not. But another world war, a war that might last from three to six years, would require thoroughgoing socialization if we were to remain isolated and yet support a passable standard of living. We should have to squeeze the water out of our industries; we could no longer afford to pay a return on the fantastic value the elder Morgan placed on United States Steel. We could no longer afford to permit the Mellon heirs to monopolize aluminum; or the Guggenheims, copper. The du Ponts would have to dissolve. We should have to operate first a few, later more industries on a non-profit basis. The process of plowing under crops and keeping men at boondoggles so as not to disturb profit-making would be too expensive. A policy of this kind reduces real wealth in terms of goods produced and human labor used; increases real debt in terms of obligations assumed and bonds issued by the government. On top of the debt piled up in fighting depression we could not afford another AAA, another NRA, another WPA, especially since all of them would have to be on a larger scale than we have known during the Roosevelt period. The problem would be to produce more, to distribute it better, and to do this quickly. That spells socialism of one variety or another. Would we give up profit for peace? I doubt it.

Even assuming that business interests would not force the country to abandon isolation, it is likely that Congress, instead of moving toward socialism, would, under the pressure of big property, lay the basis for a more repressive and less democratic system than this country has ever seen, even in time of war—complete government control of labor unions, abolition of the right to strike, machinery for cutting wages, forceful methods for removing dispossessed croppers and tenant farmers to new areas, makeshift boondoggles and Spartan rations for the unemployed. Consider the ugly mood that would be engendered among Southern planters, among strong-arm industrialists, by the economic crisis in the wake of isolationist embargos; consider the turbulent and revolutionary mood of the workers. Here would be the makings of a vigilante, a fascist America, an America that would use neutrality as a demagogic cover-up for its attack on liberty and finally plunge the more eagerly into war as a way out of difficulties at home.

We cannot be isolated. We shall pay higher telephone rates for a generation because a man named Hitler started an arms race in Europe and copper is a war necessity. We shall pay higher prices for steel because we have been drained of a generation's accumulation of scrap metal by war preparations abroad. We are faced even now by the necessity for profound changes in our national policy and national temper because of what is already happening across the Atlantic and across the Pacific. Shall we creep into the isolationist shell? Democracy will never be the same if we do. Shall we arm to the teeth, match ship for ship, cannon for cannon, with the aggressor powers? A militaristic, regimented, goose-step influence hitherto absent from our national life would make its appearance. Shall we support the League or some other agency of collective action? This too requires a wrench in our traditional way of thinking. Why must we choose? Because we are no longer free, because we are not isolated, because forces beyond our control are forcing us to choose. In the context of our time isolation is an unreal, a classroom solution.

I think the road that offers the least change, the best chance of peace, the greatest possibility of preserving

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the free institutions that, with all their frequent lapses from the ideal, remain our proud possession, is the path of international cooperation. Democracy depends in large part on the freedom of the market, and the market is international. The international market is being destroyed by fear of war, the haste of nations to make themselves self-sufficient. Political security is necessary for economic security, for the revival of international trade, for the easing of nationalistic hatreds; it can come only through international cooperation. The weight of our power might turn the trick, halt the aggressor nations, prevent war. Nothing else can.

The Aggressive Good Neighbor

BY G. ARBAIZA

NOT long ago American diplomacy posted at the gates of Pan-America a sign reading: "American obsolete destroyers leased for a nominal charge to good neighbors on application." Official Latin America was amazed as it had not been since President Roosevelt announced his non-intervention policy in 1933. Shrewd dictators arched their eyebrows, then smiled unbelievingly. Was it really possible to get antiquated small craft of the American armada for nothing? Or was there a catch? Did you need only to fill out an application for destroyers as you would for books in a circulating library? Or did the good neighbor require that you have a strategic coast line, raw materials to protect against the "desires" of foreign powers, and plans for building up a navy, such as Brazil, the first favored applicant, had? Then, too, since destroyers are hardly instruments of good neighborliness, was this offer a departure from the good-neighbor policy?

In a joint statement the governments of the United States and Brazil answered that it was only "an entirely minor phase of that policy," and when a storm of queries and objections broke out here and abroad, American diplomacy took down the sign. But the statement remains substantially correct. The proposed lease of destroyers to Brazil was apparently only a minor item in a much larger program lately undertaken in the name of the good-neighbor policy. Washington has abandoned its suave tactics and plunged into direct action.

It has gone into action to fight for a position of vantage on the South American commercial battleground, where the great trading powers have been competing since the turn of the century. The deal recently closed with Brazil is not mainly concerned with the leasing of destroyers. Those much-discussed vessels play a comparatively trifling part in it. The fire of comments the leasing proposal drew from the press has hidden from public view the real story. The deal marks the first move in Washington's campaign to defeat European influence in the southern continent; to check the gains made by America's trade rivals, particularly Germany, in the Brazilian market, the second largest in South America; to secure a continued supply of the Brazilian raw materials essential to American industry; and to obtain through cooperation with Brazil a strategic advantage that will permit the United States to protect American interests on the eastern coast of South America in the event of world hostilities.

Frustrated in Buenos Aires last December in its plans for the organization of a bicontinental bloc that would have meant a solid Latin America behind the United States in the present world emergency, American diplomacy seems determined now to obtain by individual treatment what could not be accomplished by collective persuasion. The logical country to start with was Brazil. In contrast to the attitude of Argentina, which balked the plan for a bicontinental bloc at Buenos Aires, that of the Brazilian delegation under Oswaldo Aranha, "chief exponent of Monroeism in Latin America," was out-and-out pro-American. Although Brazilian policy, following the vicissitudes of coffee and the changing sources of financial help abroad, has fluctuated, influenced by developments in Europe and the United States, it has invariably backed American policy in matters affecting the Western Hemisphere as a whole. Brazil supported the Wilson Administration and declared war on Germany in 1917 when the British blockade cut off its trade with the Central Powers, while President Irigoyen of Argentina refused to be "dragged into the war by the United States." And again, in the early twenties, when relations between the United States and the British-Japanese alliance took an ugly turn, arrangements were made by the American and Brazilian governments for an American naval mission to Brazil.

With the inflow of American capital into Brazil in the period of economic expansion that followed the war, relations between the United States and Brazil developed into a tremendous business partnership. Between 1919 and 1930 American investors lent Brazil, in government, state, and municipal bonds, about $420,000,000. The stake of American industrial interests in that country now is estimated at about $500,000,000, invested mainly in public utilities, mining, meat packing, shipping, rubber, oil, branch and assembling plants, and manufacturing. American capital probably makes up more than one-fourth of the total foreign investments in Brazil, largely supplied by the power trust and international banks, United States Steel, Ford, du Pont, Standard Oil, General Electric, Diamond Match, General Motors, and the packing triumvirate—Wilson, Swift, and Armour.

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With the recession in American trade and investments after the 1929 crash, American influence in Brazil ebbed. A commerce that had climbed from $150,000,000 in 1913 to more than $300,000,000 in the golden years of dollar diplomacy, financed in large measure by American loans, shrank to $100,000,000 at the beginning of the depression, when the United States closed its purse to Latin America. Whereupon the trade rivals of the United States, old and new, appeared in the field, Germany among them.

One of the main difficulties of American trade was the lack of exchange. Like many other non-industrial countries, Brazil had established exchange control in order to preserve its scanty gold stock and retaliate against the deflation of the prices of its raw materials and foodstuffs forced by the despotic centers of world industry. Taking advantage of this situation in a masterly stroke, Dr. Schacht proposed to Brazil to do away with exchange worries and adopt the barter system. That clever tactical device, the "compensation" mark, made this possible. By this system German importers of Brazilian products paid the Reichsbank for them in marks that were kept in Germany for the purchase of German goods by Brazil. By piling up trade balances in favor of Brazil in blocked marks, Germany induced Brazil to buy more and more, for balances could only be thawed by purchases. Thus Dr. Schacht outgeneraled the traders of gold-glutted countries, who had to wait for the liquidation of their drafts while German traders were able to liquidate immediately.

Soon the Hamburg-bound stream of Brazilian coffee, cotton, tobacco, hides, vegetable oils, grains, cacao beans, fruit, rubber, and other products became tremendous, and Germany was shipping a proportional quantity of manufactured goods, without using an ounce of gold. Moreover, German diligence and the elasticity that the dictatorship was able to give wages and prices enabled Germany to undersell other nations in Brazil, including the United States. As for dividends on German investments, Brazil had to pay them in foreign exchange derived from its trade with other countries. The barter strategy carried the victorious German trade forces even farther. Acquiring more Brazilian products than it consumed, Germany resold the surplus abroad, collecting in open exchange and bringing international free currencies into the Reichsbank. In this way, while it traded with Brazil without using gold, the Reich obtained gold by selling surplus Brazilian products. Thus it gradually became more and more of a factor in marketing Brazilian products, and at the same time, through investments and concessions in Brazilian mines, including iron ore, steadily increased its share in the country's mineral wealth. By 1936, after three years of hard campaigning, General Schacht's commercial forces in Brazil had outstripped British and American exporters and captured first place in Brazilian import trade with a share of 23 per cent. Germany had become the largest seller of manufactured goods to Brazil and the second largest buyer of Brazilian products. An American counter-move, the 1935 reciprocity treaty with Brazil, although it probably helped to maintain the American share at only a slightly lower level, failed to bring about a recovery.

While American diplomacy in December, 1936, was trying to persuade South America to put up a common front before the European war threat, Dr. Schacht was reaping the benefits of the greatest year for German trade in Brazil. At the same time, however, the Brazilian government was supporting the American proposal at the Buenos Aires conference with an eagerness that seemed to betray some expectation. The fact is that at the height of Dr. Schacht's success the recently revealed American-Brazilian deal was in the making. Negotiations that had started before the Buenos Aires conference were hastened upon its failure. American diplomacy called Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau and the Navy Department to its assistance, and the result was a threefold deal—monetary, commercial, and naval. Utilizing a small fraction of its enormous and troublesome stock of "sterilized" gold, the United States Treasury last July signed with Arturo de Souza Costa, Finance Minister of Brazil, an agreement granting Brazil a $60,000,000 gold credit to maintain "monetary equilibrium" between the two countries and "to facilitate the establishment by Brazil of a central reserve bank," with "technical assistance" from the United States. Brazil, in return, undertook to remove from its tariff laws provisions operating against United States commerce and to protect its markets "against outside competition that is directly subsidized by governments"—a pledge that would obviously stop the expansion of German trade. The gold made available to Brazil, in dollar exchange, will remain in the United States.

This broadside of American gold inflicts on German trade in Brazil its most serious setback since the World War. American trade will have plenty of exchange, the inducement will be to buy American goods, and Dr. Schacht's new lieutenant in Brazil, Dr. Karl Ritter one of the Reich's ablest foreign-trade specialists, will have a hard time to save the barter system from total destruction. There are, however, two factors still in Germany's favor—its ability to underquote the United States by a wide margin in many lines, and the insistence of some Brazilian producers, especially the São Paulo cotton growers, to continue the barter trade with Germany. The Reich, which formerly bought cotton in the United States, is now the second largest consumer of the Brazilian product and is partly responsible for raising Brazil to fifth place among the world's producers of cotton.

But the new American gold strategy has a larger aim than checking Dr. Schacht's schemes in South America. It is intended to ward off not only German but all competition. Germany happened to be leading the competitors of the United States, but it is only one of the powers that have been jockeying for economic, political, and strategic positions in South America in anticipation of a vast conflict. Among Brazil's most valued raw materials—and one which the United States has now made sure of getting—is ferromanganese. Absolutely vital to industry in war time and just as valuable in peace, this

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precious ingredient in the making of steel now comes chiefly from Russia, India, and Brazil, which possesses the most extensive reserve in the world. Brazil now furnishes 25 per cent of the product consumed in the United States, and in case of war it would offer the most important accessible source of supply—particularly since United States Steel, through a subsidiary, the Companhia Meridional de Mineração, already owns vast deposits there. But "accessible" means that American economic sway in Brazil must be preserved, and that the American navy must be ready to protect the transportation of this mineral in war time, unless the United States accumulates beforehand reserves sufficiently large for any emergency.

As for Brazil's gain from the deal, the gold-credit agreement comes to steady not only the milreis but also Dictator-President Vargas, and it lends a hand to the Brazilian and American coffee interests at a moment when Brazil's coffee-export trade, the chief source of foreign exchange and purchasing power for Brazil abroad, is going through a most critical period. It is estimated that for the present crop year Brazil's share in the coffee taken by world trading centers will not exceed 50 per cent, whereas formerly it amounted to as much as 70 per cent. In a desperate effort to keep up the price Brazil is now burning its oversupply at the rate of 100,000 bags a day. Since 1931, when the elimination of the surplus began, it has destroyed nearly 50,000,000 bags, and it plans to destroy 15,000,000 more during the first half of the present crop year—about 60 per cent of estimated production. The National Coffee Department owes the Bank of Brazil more than $36,000,000, which has been used for coffee destruction. The United States is the largest consumer of Brazilian coffee, and the American speculators' control of the trade was definitely menaced when Germany began reselling purchases of the Brazilian product in competition with Brazil itself. A few days after signing the gold-credit agreement with the United States, the Brazilian government significantly canceled a German purchase of 100,000 bags of coffee for resale in the Balkans, and instead gave the National Coffee Department 100,000 more bags of coffee to burn.

The American Treasury Department's announcement of the agreement with Brazil was not explicit about the exact terms of the transaction. Has the credit been granted for a definite period of time? How is it going to be used for steadying the dollar-milreis rate? To what extent will it be applied to the establishment of a central bank in Brazil? The answers to these questions have not been revealed, but one thing at least seems clear. The United States is to have a hand in the reorganization of Brazil's banking and monetary structure—a big job and one that British interests in that country have sought for years—and it is entering on the task with the aim of restoring and maintaining American commercial supremacy and protecting American investments.

Two joint American-Brazilian committees, "composed of representatives of the trade interests of both countries," will sit at Rio de Janeiro and at New York or Washington to secure "within the commitments mutually entered into by the government of Brazil and the government of the United States . . . the most appropriate solutions in order to overcome the obstacles which might hinder the natural development of trade between the two countries." If—as the quoted announcement seems to imply—the mixed committees are to see that the American-Brazilian *quid pro quo* will be carried out, then it means that Brazil is going to have American commercial supervision.

The present monetary credit is not a loan in the sense that a bond flotation is. Nevertheless, it is a credit operation. But what is more significant is that the extension of monetary facilities to Latin America should have been induced, as in the post-war period, by a plethora of gold, this time government-controlled gold. The United States government, which has already invaded the field of banking in this country, appears now in a game which used to be played chiefly by international bankers. The pecuniary help given to the Latin American governments in the twenties, when American experts were assisting fifteen of them to place their fiscal systems on a "sound" basis, consisted of bond flotations sold in the market by Wall Street international banks. We know what was done with the money, and what is happening to the bonds. The money, loaned in a saturnalia of bribes and fat commissions, was in large measure either privately absorbed or publicly squandered by the cliques in power, with the same irresponsibility with which it was gathered by the bankers from American investors. Of the total amount outstanding on December 31, 1936 —$1,917,000,000—about 77 per cent was and still remains in default. Brazil's unpaid debt to American investors aggregates nearly $370,000,000. The present transaction may prevent further manipulations by the international bankers, but all the same it is a very generous accommodation in the light of preceding events.

American trade has been experiencing exchange difficulties in other Latin American countries as well as in Brazil; the German government has signed compensation-mark agreements with other southern republics. More of our "sterilized" gold stock could be used to stabilize Latin American exchange in these states and to open new outlets for American trade. Latin American governments may even be willing to pay their debts to American investors provided the United States lends them the money to do it. And the question suggests itself: Will facilities of this sort lead to another period of expansion in our trade with Latin America, financed by American gold as it was in the twenties? "But America," said President Roosevelt in a speech at St. Paul last October, "has learned her lesson once and for all about that kind of frenzied finance." Whatever the outcome, the good-neighbor policy has taken on an aggressive aspect. It is being turned to the rescue of American business in the southern latitudes, and in its first real battle it has some $60,000,000 in gold to use for ammunition.

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D. A. R. in the Schoolroom

BY M. B. SCHNAPPER

IF THE Daughters of the American Revolution had their way about our educational system, young America would be taught only D. A. R. views of history, economics, foreign affairs, and political doctrines. To the Daughters the educational ideal is a process of memorizing platitudes, reciting patriotic poetry, rejecting everything new and accepting everything old, going through incessant flag salutes and military drills, and learning to render unthinking obedience. Their efforts to achieve that ideal are far more extensive and intensive than those of any other group of professional patriots, excepting only the ubiquitous American Legion. Their influence upon our schoolchildren is perhaps even greater than the combined efforts of such groups as the National Civic Federation, the Sons of the American Revolution, the American Coalition. These groups influence the school only occasionally and incidentally, whereas the D. A. R. has ceaselessly made the school the center of a score of highly ramified pressures and activities.

Because the teacher is obviously the most vital link in American education, he, or she, is the central target. Let the teacher voice an opinion not altogether in keeping with D. A. R. tenets and he is open to a barrage of criticism. Even in communities where the D. A. R. is only moderately snoopy, it is a foolhardy teacher who dares express an idea which could be misinterpreted or who even broaches such topics as internationalism, social planning, or Soviet Russia. Every Daughter is advised not only to "become acquainted with the sentiments of the teachers and their methods of instructing the children in the part the United States has taken in history," but to see to it "that the great men and women who have carried the banner of patriotism and loyalty to the country and the high ideals upon which this nation was founded and has prospered be presented to the youth in their true colors." "Put none but Americans on guard!" is the warning of a president general of the D. A. R., and "put loyal American men and women on our school boards, whom you can trust to get only good teachers who are also loyal Americans, about whose patriotism there can be no question."

In the spring of 1936 the D. A. R. decided to intensify its efforts to oust teachers opposed to its conception of American government. Announcing but not proving that it possessed evidence that many educators were selling themselves to the Comintern, it went on record as favoring the immediate dismissal of any and all who, in its opinion, revealed Moscow connections through aversion to D. A. R. loyalty oaths. Objections by the National Education Association and other groups that the oaths curtailed academic freedom and unfairly implied subversive activities in the teaching profession were cursorily dismissed by President General Becker. "No patriotic teacher should object to taking the oath of allegiance," she said. "It is an honor, not a reflection upon character. It does not carry with it interference with the right of educators to determine courses of study. Courses of study will be safe in the hands of loyal teachers." And as a logical follow-up, Dr. Felix Forte, a lawyer of repute, urged a constitutional amendment giving the courts power to take away rights of citizenship from those "who are Americans according to the definition of the Constitution and yet are unworthy of the name."

Any teacher who believes that democratic education should pave the way toward peace has much to unlearn. There is a common feeling among the Daughters that anything suggestive of pacifism is in truth radicalism, a feeling succinctly expressed by Mrs. Anthony Wayne Cook, one-time president general:

> We should see that our school boards are not allowing our public-school system to be used for the dissemination of propaganda which, in the guise of so-called peace literature, is in reality dangerous and insidious pacifist dogma. As a matter of fact, too much of this sort of thing has already been disseminated. It has been cleverly prepared so that it might insidiously stir up unrest and discontent in the minds of both pupils and teachers concerning our time-tested American governmental institutions.

Even more foolish is the teacher who thinks such questions should be considered from all points of view. "We want no teachers," warn the Daughters, "who say there are two sides to every question . . . who care more for their academic freedom of speech than for their country . . . academic freedom of speech has no place in school, where the youth of our country are taught and their unformed minds developed."

The D. A. R. has never shown reluctance about placing educators and institutions of note on the black lists which it freely distributes. Among the more prominent institutions so honored are Barnard College, Berkeley Divinity School, Boston School of Social Sciences, Bryn Mawr Summer School, Smith College, and the New School for Social Research. Blacklisted college organizations include the Barnard Social Science Club, the Bryn Mawr Liberal Club, the Dartmouth Round Table, the Harvard Student Liberal Club, the Union Theological Contemporary Club, the University of Chicago Liberal Club, the University of Colorado Forum, the Wellesley College Forum, the Vassar College Political Association, and the Yale Liberal Club.

Forthright criticism of these lists almost cost Dr. Clarence Cook Little his job as president of the University of Michigan and the university itself a large bene-

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faction when Mrs. Alfred J. Brousseau, a former president general of the D. A. R., took offense at an expression of his views on the matter. This was something which neither he nor his university could afford since Mrs. Brousseau and her husband, the president of Mack Trucks, had just established a $115,000 scholarship and student-loan fund. On the assumption that her money entitled her to handle him in her own fashion, Mrs. Brousseau wrote to Dr. Little:

> Through a newspaper report I learn of a recent diatribe of yours against the D. A. R., part of the attack being based upon an "alleged black list." . . . Frankly, I would say that the policies of the D. A. R. are not any of your particular concern. You are supposed to be an educator and not a censor of organization methods, other than the particular organization with which you are concerned. . . . You state that some of the qualities of the D. A. R. are un-American. Will you pardon me if I remind you of the fact that in certain quarters during the past two years criticism along similar lines has been leveled at you? The D. A. R. has not attacked you. Why should you go out of your way to needlessly criticize it? . . . Last but not least, the national society, D. A. R., does not issue any such list as you condemn, which fact you might have learned had you shown me the courtesy of an inquiry. That would have been quite logical, considering our mutual interests in the University of Michigan, of which you happen at the moment to be president.

Despite Mrs. Brousseau's protestations, there was no doubt that the D. A. R. was responsible for the black lists, and Dr. Little courageously announced his refusal to be controlled "by inside secret deliberations and decisions of an inner and privileged council of any organization."

Perhaps the most active concern of the D. A. R. as a whole is the protection of young America from school textbooks which the Daughters consider un-American. Gestated during the hysterical red-baiting days of the early twenties, their campaign in this field has suckled upon the Bolshevik menace ever since. In the loquacious person of Mrs. M. R. Jacobs, the D. A. R. was one of the active forces in the opera-bouffe investigation of New York City's history textbooks in 1920-22. Later, united with other professional patriots, the D. A. R. of New Jersey sponsored a bill designed to legalize the censorship of history in that state. And shortly thereafter D. A. R. chapters everywhere showered praise and publicity upon an interminable series of articles syndicated by the Hearst newspapers to show parents that "school histories now being taught their children have been revised and in some instances wholly rewritten in a new and propitiatory spirit toward England."

Some of the nation's most distinguished scholars have fared sadly at the hands of the D. A. R. in the course of its drive on textbooks. Professor David S. Muzzey's "American History" has been frequently denounced by the Daughters because, according to a study of the American Historical Association, they feel "it gives to military history insufficient emphasis to make good soldiers out of children." In the District of Columbia the Daughters have been especially active in a campaign to remove Muzzey's history from the schools, and in North Carolina, because they felt that he had slighted their state and unjustly called slavery the chief cause of the Civil War, they have had his book removed from the state's official textbook list. That landmark of American scholarship "The Rise of American Civilization," by Charles and Mary Beard, and other noted histories have enjoyed similar treatment. Let any text view America's past at all realistically and its author is immediately accused of everything but treason, and sometimes even that.

The tune is always the same. In one year a president general reveals that the insidious purpose is "to intentionally distort the traditions of American heroism and patriotism; to make mockery and derision of the high motives and purposes of the patriots, thereby to destroy the natural instinct of veneration in every youthful American for the ideals and principles of the Republic and its institutions." In another year there is a traitorous movement afoot "to delete our school histories of the heroism of battles and the honor rolls of our valiant fighters; to substitute for our patriotic expressions radical pacifist slogans calculated to stress internationalism in place of nationalism; to ban recognition of our warrior patriots who have fought and died for the life of the nation, and to exalt in their stead so-called 'heroes of permanent service' and civilian and scientific heroes."

Of the hundreds of American histories only two seem to meet D. A. R. prejudices: "The American Government Today," by Frederick J. Haskin, and "The Story of the American People," by Charles F. Horne. The former is a mediocre work by a journalist on the staff of the Washington *Evening Star*, one of the most conservative papers in the country. In 1935 alone some 12,000 free copies of this book were sent by the D. A. R. to schools, libraries, Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. reading-rooms, Federal Emergency Relief Administration schools, and CCC camps. The Horne work is a bombastic affair published by the American Legion in cooperation with the D. A. R. and thirty-two other super-patriotic organizations. In recognition of its "commendable purpose" the D. A. R. has recommended that its members "bring this history to the attention of the school boards in all communities and urge that it be adopted as a textbook in United States history." In announcing plans for the publication of Horne's unique history, the American Legion frankly stated that its object was to "inspire the children with patriotism," to "preach a vivid love of America," to "be careful to tell the truth optimistically," and to "speak chiefly of success." All this the book does remarkably well. It tells its young readers that America is "a kind of paradise . . . where work brings its best reward, the one region where peace seems assured, the land of Opportunity." The D. A. R. heartily agrees with Mr. Horne that the Spanish-American War was "a people's war" and the World War a supreme test of our democracy, and it exults in his revelation that America has a "divine purpose," realizable when and if "civilization should prove worthy of it."

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Swiss Democracy in Retreat

BY PETER BROWN

Geneva, September 1

THE shadow of fascism today lies dark and long over this supposed ancient cradle of democratic liberties. Called in referendum upon laws proposed to them by their legislative authorities, the sovereign people of the Canton of Geneva last spring voted three to two to outlaw subversive political organizations, more specifically the Communist Party. The real issue went much deeper. Should the reactionary bourgeois alliance now in power, combining fascist and Catholic groups of the far right with liberal and radical groups of the center, be granted a free hand in acting against militant Socialists and trade unionists, against active friends of the Soviet Union and the Spanish republic, against outspoken enemies of the German and Italian dictatorships?

These laws were not enacted in the hysteria of threatened civil war, nor yet in the heat of revolutionary labor unrest. They were passed against a background of perfect calm, political and economic. Their formal thrust is against a party of microscopic membership and of infinitesimal activity. Their unconcealed inspiration comes from a small fascist-Catholic bloc in the bourgeois united front which displaced the Socialist administration of Nicole at the cantonal elections last year. In short, these laws represent the technique of the cold pogrom assuming the forms of constitutional procedure. In reasoned deliberation and with frigid malice, the upper and middle classes of Geneva are determined to wipe out the left wing of the local labor movement. In doing so they are ready to reject all their country's traditions of political freedom and to advance firmly along the road which leads to the totalitarian state.

Such developments at the foot of Lake Leman may shock sentimental Americans who still think of Switzerland in a haze of tender-minded sentiment as the country of William Tell and the revolt against Austrian tyranny, the land of primitive agrarian democracy, where the initiative and referendum are brought to their highest perfection, the asylum for religious and political refugees from time out of mind. Actually the enactment of anti-Communist laws by the Canton of Geneva is by no means an isolated event. It is only one phase in a process of evolution by which, in the gradual division of Europe into two opposed ideologies, Switzerland is moving toward the far right to take its stand along the axis which runs from Berlin to Rome.

To give the devil his due, Switzerland is still very far from being a totalitarian state. Trade unions are still an active force, parliamentary institutions continue to function, newspapers and public speakers are free to criticize the public authorities. In terms of fascism very simply defined—the suppression of trade unions and the abolition of civil liberties and parliamentary procedure—Switzerland is still to be counted as a democratic country. But bit by bit and step by step the institutions of bourgeois democracy are breaking down. They are breaking down economically in violent reaction against the leftward drift of France, and politically as a gesture of accommodation to the armed ruthlessness of Germany and Italy.

Geneva was not the first Swiss canton to outlaw the Communist Party. Neuchâtel had set the precedent a few weeks earlier, although its only application of the law so far has been the promulgation of a decree to deprive a mildly socialistic high-school teacher at La Chaux-de-Fonds of his right to teach in the canton. With Geneva and Neuchâtel in line, it is reasonable to suppose that Vaud will soon follow suit.

No mystery surrounds the peculiarly violent animus of the three French-speaking cantons toward left-wing groups of all shades. These cantons lie along the French border; they are the next-door neighbors of the Confédération Générale du Travail. France, during the course of the last year, has undergone a rather complete revolution on the labor front. As a result of sitdown strikes joined to political action, the workers of France have gained the forty-hour week, wage increases, holidays with pay, legal recognition of trade unions. Peering across the frontier at this nation-wide drama of employers in forced retreat, the collective bankers, industrialists, merchants, and hotel and restaurant keepers of Suisse Romande have alternated between green fear and purple fury. Their own Swiss wage-slaves must be immunized against this Gallic pestilence; the impulses which set the French labor movement going in 1936 must be sternly checked at the source. To accomplish these ends under respectable camouflage what simpler or more efficacious method could be found than to declare a crusade against Moscow? The technique is dependable, its usage worldwide.

But the economics of fascism in Switzerland are not peculiar to the French-speaking cantons. Popular fallacies to the contrary notwithstanding, Switzerland is a highly industrialized country which gets its living not only from tourists and cows but also, and more significantly, from the manufacture of textiles, chemicals, watches, electrical machinery, transportation equipment, and armaments. Economic control over the major industries, including the admittedly vital hotel trade, is concentrated in the hands of the big banks at Zurich and Basel. As for the peasantry, beautifully organized for pressure politics, a very large part of it is Roman Catholic—fervently so—and thus in the grasp of a religious body which everywhere works hand in hand with the economic reactionaries.

There are perfectly sound reasons why the bankers and industrialists who run the economic system of Switzerland should be turning their attention to the techniques by which the employers of Germany and Italy have relieved

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themselves of their labor troubles. True, the Swiss workers have not yet got out of hand. No strikes of any consequence, sitdown or otherwise, have occurred during the past year; no sweeping wage increases have had to be granted. But the set-up which might awaken the Swiss trade unions from their present lethargy is undeniably present. Since the devaluation of the franc last autumn economic recovery has been advancing vigorously to the accompaniment of a rapid rise in the cost of living. At any moment the Swiss trade unions might follow the example of their French brothers across the border by committing the indiscretion of pressing forcefully for higher wages and shorter hours. To crusade against Moscow under circumstances such as these is merely to recognize that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.

In this good work the industrial masters of Switzerland have enjoyed the enthusiastic assistance of the federal authorities. At the height of the French labor unrest last June, for example, the federal authorities refused to permit Léon Jouhaux to address the workers of Geneva on the forty-hour week, although Jouhaux was then discoursing daily on that subject at the sessions of the International Labor Conference. And since last summer the postal department has been banning a longer and longer list of foreign newspapers and journals, mostly Communist, such as *Humanité* and the *Daily Worker*, both British and American. A climax to this sort of repression was reached when the World Peace Congress of 1936 had to meet in Brussels instead of Geneva, as originally intended, because of the impossibly severe restrictions which the Swiss federal government decided to impose upon the admission and activity of the left-wing delegates.

It is in the realm of politics, however, that the Swiss federal government has seen fit to reveal itself most glaringly as the supine creature of Mussolini and Hitler. Almost alone among the countries of the world Switzerland voted to refuse the Soviet Union membership in the League of Nations in 1934. (Switzerland is still one of those rare countries which refuse to recognize officially that the U. S. S. R. exists.) Relying on its special status as a neutral state, Switzerland refrained from applying full economic sanctions against Italy when the Ethiopian crisis arose, and after Ethiopia had been subdued, Switzerland hastened to be among the first to recognize Italian *de jure* sovereignty over the conquered territory. When the administration of Geneva, then Socialist, expelled the hooligan Italian journalists who booed and catcalled the Negus at a meeting of the League Assembly, the federal authorities at Berne brought them right back again. Before any other democratic government had joined in the tragic farce of "non-intervention" in Spain, the Swiss federal government was issuing decrees to stop meetings and demonstrations in favor of the Spanish republic and to prohibit the raising of funds for Valencia.

Significantly the outburst of anti-Communist cantonal laws was, in its origins, inspired by abortive federal efforts along the same lines. For a year Berne has been seeking a grant of emergency powers which would permit it to outlaw all radical activities by executive fiat. The project was withdrawn only a few days before Geneva held its referendum. Fortunately for the country's political liberties its legislators are becoming violently jealous of an executive which never ceases its encroachments upon parliamentary prerogatives. Given the first favorable opportunity, however, Berne will no doubt return to the attack.

Why this complete subordination of Swiss foreign and domestic policy to the whims of Rome and Berlin? Is it because the Swiss national character, as some pretend, instinctively revolts at the idea of bolshevism? Is it because, as others allege, M. Motta, the Swiss President, is from the Italian-speaking part of the country and dreams of allying his family to Mussolini's? The truth is much simpler, much more direct. In a military sense Switzerland has everything to fear from the territorial ambitions of Germany and Italy. It has nothing to fear from the side of a surfeited France, dreaming only of European peace. Nazi propaganda in favor of the pan-Germanic ideal is actively carried on in the German-speaking cantons; Italian propaganda is similarly at work in the Tessin. Although this is all unofficial work on behalf of totalitarian nationalism, the Berne authorities well know that Germany and Italy would grasp at a chance to cut large chunks away from the territory of the confederation. Switzerland's national interests thus demand, as an elementary proposition in *Realpolitik*, that Germany and Italy be placated, won over to friendship, however overbearing. This may at times humiliate Swiss national pride, but humility is well worth the price if it serves to divert Italian and German lust for expansion.

Thus if the federal authorities are doing all in their power to place Switzerland securely on the German-Italian axis, it is because they are political realists. They know that if you join the enemy he may be persuaded to refrain from swallowing you up; at least his combative attentions may be diverted elsewhere. But Swiss political realism goes farther than this. Like all other countries Switzerland is now heaving in the financial agonies of an enormous program of rearmament and national defense. By far the largest part, if not all, of this expenditure is going to fortify the defenses along the Italian and German frontiers, for those are the directions from which danger is known to threaten. Turn by turn each of the larger Swiss towns goes through its air-raid drills. It is an open secret that these drills are being carried out with an eye to the possible tender ministrations, in the not-too-distant future, of Italian and German bombers. If Switzerland is moving as fast as it can along the path which ends in totalitarianism, it is nevertheless sparing no effort to defend itself against its fascist neighbors.

These are sad reflections, no doubt, at the seat of the League of Nations and the International Labor Office; they form a discordant accompaniment to the daily oratory of peace, good-will, and social justice. But it is economic and political realities, not Alps, which form the strongest barriers against the plague of fascism. And why, after all, should we expect Swiss democracy to stand firm when the British, French, and American democracies daily permit the totalitarian dictatorships to stretch their inches into yards, their yards into miles?

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

FREQUENTLY of late I have been asked two questions: "What would you do in regard to Japan and China if you were President?" and "Does not the plight of China end all thought of pacifism?" I should be flattered by the implication of the first question that I am competent to attempt to answer it if I did not believe that it often emanates from a desire to put me in a hole. Well, I'll rush in where angels might well fear to tread, and do my best. Here is what my program would be:

1. Issue a proclamation forthwith putting the neutrality law into effect, refusing to be deterred therefrom by statements that to do so is to deprive China of the opportunity to purchase supplies while Japan can avail itself of the "cash-and-carry" provision. Without our enforcement of this law Japan is able to blockade China and to prevent contraband from reaching it. Its enforcement will help China by preventing arms from going to Japan and by preventing loans to both belligerents, thus making Japan's trading position more nearly equal to China's.

2. Notify China that all American ships and soldiers are being withdrawn from China permanently, and promise never to reestablish the American garrisons in Tientsin, Peiping, or Shanghai.

3. Repatriate all our nationals by a given date, using warships if necessary for that purpose, and notify all Americans who remain thereafter, precisely as we notified them in Spain and Ethiopia, that they do so at their own risk and responsibility and that their injuries or deaths will not be a *casus belli*—this policy has already been adopted by the President.

4. Endeavor to induce England, Russia, France, Holland, Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, and the Scandinavian countries to join the United States in a statement denouncing the violation by Japan of the Kellogg pact, the Nine-Power treaty, and other agreements. Concerted action of this kind is absolutely necessary to uphold the sanctity of treaties. The statement should renew the demand for the territorial integrity of China, and the cooperation of the League of Nations should be invited.

5. Announce approval of a boycott of Japan by the American public and possibly later ask Congress for a non-intercourse law to stop our trade with Japan until Chinese territory is evacuated.

6. In any event withdraw our American ambassador promptly from Japan as a moral protest, precisely as Italy once withdrew its minister, Baron Fava, from the United States because of our failure to offer compensation for the murder of Italian citizens in New Orleans.

Now if it is asserted that this would (a) invite war with Japan and (b) make us virtually the ally of China, my reply is that war with Japan is only possible if we start it; with China on its hands and Russia in the background, there would be no danger of any attack by Japan on the United States, since under any circumstances that would mean national suicide. This policy would not be taking sides with China or passing judgment upon all its relations with Japan, but would merely register a protest against wholesale violation of treaties and give expression to decent world opinion. If we cannot build up a respect for international obligations by condemning the violators of them, then the world ought to apologize to Germany for having denounced it in 1914 for making a scrap of paper out of its treaty with Belgium. The United States has here a magnificent opportunity for moral leadership—provided we make it clear that we are withdrawing from China and have not the slightest intention of engaging in war.

It would of course be difficult to get other nations to go along; I have not forgotten how we were let down by England on the Manchurian issue. But this Shanghai adventure is something else; it endangers British property worth $900,000,000; if Japan holds Shanghai, England and all other nations will be shut off from the vast Yangtze River territory. The British Cabinet might well discover, suddenly, moral issues in the present war on China which it could not perceive in Manchuria. But the fact that others might refuse to follow is no reason why we should not lead. Throughout our entire history, especially when we were weak, our government has freely expressed adverse opinions upon the acts of other countries, and yet we have usually remained at peace with them—even in the Venezuela imbroglio with England. Should we not speak out now when the case is clear?

As to the plight of China proving the impossibility of pacifism, every war is always declared to prove exactly that; yet the pacifist sentiment in the world is far more intelligent and widespread than it has ever been since the death of the Prince of Peace. Pacifists are no longer under the obligation to prove that their position is ethically sound, or that peace is the highest dictate of Christianity, or even that it is the safest and sanest policy for all humanity. The burden of proof is upon the war-makers to show that any war results in good, or fails to bring more evils in its train than good. If China must yield to Japan at present, it will rise above Japan in the future, as in so many other interludes in its history when it has absorbed its conquerors. The seeds of decline are in Japan today, its feudalism, its militarism, its domination by war lords, its economic distress—but not in China the resurgent, the renascent, the nation that has loved peace so long. Military victory for Japan in China will prove far worse for it than defeat.

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THE LIFE AND DEATH OF GARCIA LORCA

BY ROLFE HUMPHRIES

FEDERICO GARCIA LORCA was a man in his middle thirties when the fascists killed him at Granada a year ago. His life, though it began and ended in the same geographical area, was by no means parochial. He had studied and traveled widely; his art, while basically Andalusian, was remarkable for its sensitive assimilation of influences and moved freely in many directions. He knew how to write both simply and subtly at the same time, and it is on this account that minority and masses are united in his praise.

He was born in 1899. Even in his early student days he seems to have been extremely popular with his contemporaries. At the university he studied philosophy under Spain's present ambassador to the United States, Dr. Fernando de los Rios, who persuaded him to continue his education in Madrid. He was interested in music and painting as well as in letters, and in 1922 he collaborated with Falla and Zuloaga in developing the *Cante Hondo* fiesta at Granada. His first book of poems appeared in 1921, but his earliest poetry was not printed until 1935. His first published book was prose, "Impressions and Landscapes" (1918). In the late twenties he belonged to a group of writers whose orientation was distinctly toward the new poetry; their taste was sufficiently catholic to include Góngora and surrealism in the scope of their admiration. He exhibited as a painter at Barcelona in 1927, edited literary reviews and lectured on poetry in Madrid, and in 1930 came to this country for a visit which seems to have made a much more profound impression on García Lorca than on the city of New York. On his return to Spain he founded his theatrical company, *la Barraca*, for the performance of classical plays and wrote musical dramas whose range was from tragedy to farce. He was absent from Spain again in 1933 and 1934 traveling and lecturing in the Argentine and Uruguay, but was back in Granada completing a new dramatic work when the fascists came and got him.

Just exactly what prompted his criminal and stupid murder is not very clear; nor has any eyewitness ever been found to report the actual details of the execution. García Lorca took no part in politics, belonged to no political party, whether of the Popular Front or otherwise, and made rather a point of avoiding assemblies where political argument was rife. He seems to have thought of himself as a universal man, certainly not above the struggle but at any rate out of reach of the quarreling. A rumor that Benavente had been executed "by the reds" may have been responsible for this act of revenge; it is possible that the fascists, either through illiteracy or wilfulness, seized on the pretext of misinterpreting certain letters as meaning that the poet had declined a trip to Mexico in order to work for the revolution in Spain. The fact that his sister resided in a house owned by the Popular Front *alcalde* of Granada may have had something to do with it. More probably the fascists' instinct was sounder than their reasons: they recognized in him the kind of person they are eager to get rid of. He declared once in an interview affirming his Spanish character that he execrated the man who would sacrifice himself for an abstract national idea and who insisted on loving his country with a bandage over his eyes; that he preferred a good Chinese any day to a bad Spaniard. It seems impossible to doubt, however, that had he been spared he would have aligned himself with those who were employing the old ballad forms to tell, in *El Mono Azul,* new stories of the heroism of the Spanish people.

Little of Lorca's work has been available in English, on this side of the Atlantic at any rate. One of his plays was produced in New York in February, 1935, under the title "Bitter Oleander," and since his death perhaps a dozen of his lyric poems and one or two longer ballads have appeared in translation scattered here and there in American periodicals. Mr. Lloyd's collection* presents the first substantial body of evidence on the poet's quality. In addition to its half-dozen poems the book contains a photograph of the poet, a biographical sketch, a bibliography of major items (Mr. Lloyd does not mention the so-called guignolesque farces "La Zapatera Prodigiosa" and "Amor de Don Perlimplin con Belisa en su Jardin"), and a preface which discusses in amiable if not too incisive fashion the conflicting tendencies of the Spanish literary revival to which Lorca was a contributor. The title poem is followed by the ballads of The Faithless Wife, Preciosa and the Wind, The Spanish Civil Guard, The Arrest of Antoñito el Camborio, and The Martyrdom of St. Eulalia. Both the Spanish and the English texts appear. As a translator, Mr. Lloyd plays his cards pretty close to his vest and is content to state the meaning and hint the meter, making no effort to swing the original over into anything resembling the forms or cadences of the English ballad tradition. Consequently, as he would no doubt be the first to admit, his work suggests a high-class literary crib, a Loeb Classical Library volume with the poetic quality improved, rather than authentic and robust popular poetry.

Spanish literary tradition, as far back as the days when Spanish writers—Lucan, Seneca, Martial, Quintilian—dominated the letters of Rome, has always had a tendency

* "Lament for the Death of a Bullfighter, and Other Poems." By Federico García Lorca. In the Original Spanish with the English Translation by A. L. Lloyd. Oxford University Press. $2.50.

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to excess, to incoherence, to affectation, and to sentimental rhetoric. The cry of "invertebrate Spain!" sounds like an echo of that past when Seneca was criticized for his "mere mosaics," his patterns of "sand without lime," and Lucan was called "passionate and inspired but to be counted among orators rather than poets." García Lorca knew exactly where to go for the necessary correction and how to apply it; his interest in Andalusian folklore and gipsy song went far deeper than the contrivance of vulgarized and decadent popular effects or the exploitation of neo-primitive cultism. Moreover, in achieving a synthesis of all that he knew, from the pre-classic to the post-modern, of all that he had received from the world of dance and painting, music and theater, he abandoned nothing of value, and was able to work his erudition down into the substance of his art.

Just as modern music and antique folk song blend in the harmonies of Lorca's verse, so his experience of painting, the theater, and the dance contributes to the eye's delight in his work. He was fully aware that in much of Spain the eye must be quickened through the ear, and the visual capacity of his imagination was unusually rich. In a talk with Gerardo Diego he implied that a fundamental requirement of all poetic talent was the ability to see. "What am I going to say of poetry? What am I going to say of these clouds, of this heaven? Look, look, look at them, look at it; and nothing more. That's it, look." And this meant the ability to look inward as well as outward. Lorca had no foolish romantic illusions about the nature of inspiration. "If I cannot talk about my own poetry," he said, "it is not because I am unconscious of what I am doing. On the contrary, if it is true that I am a poet by the grace of God—or the demon—it is also true that I am one by the grace of technique and force, and of giving myself the strictest account of what a poem is." Scrupulous insight, technique, and force: García Lorca was popular, deservedly, not because he had the wish, but because he had the power.

BOOKS

A Second-Empire Journal

THE GONCOURT JOURNAL: 1851-1870. Edited and Translated from the Journal of Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, with an Introduction, Notes, and a Biographical Repertory, by Lewis Galantière. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.50.

A REVIVAL has been due the Goncourts for some time; everyone mentions them and apparently nobody reads them; and Mr. Galantière must be promptly thanked for having produced here not only one of the most delightful books of the year but one that makes it impossible to excuse, by further lip-service, an ignorance of what they actually contributed to modern literature. He introduces the brothers with no flattery, little enthusiasm, and without greatly encouraging the reader. In fact, he almost succeeds in demolishing them as men and artists. He has little but contempt for their lives, hints of neurotic disability for their temperaments, the faintest possible praise for their aesthetic tastes, and nothing but harsh words for their novels. They were "persistently womanish . . . extravagantly neurasthenic, constantly subject to megrims, thrown into frenzies of incapacity and self-pity by noises, insomnia, indigestion . . . men of morbid inquisitiveness who were fascinated by the repellent." They admired "prettiness rather than beauty." Their famous connoisseurship of art is spoken of as a "maidenly orderliness, surrounded by the delicate products of eighteenth-century craftsmanship and, later, the artful horrors of the Japanese dragon world." Their pioneer excursions in naturalistic fiction are "dismal, airless, written only for the sake of the 'scientific, clinical observation' with which the authors fancied they were scrutinizing human beings who were to them so many monstrosities."

These verdicts are perhaps unjustly extreme. One cannot be so sure that no impulse of humanitarian passion or social justice stirred the authors of "Soeur Philomène" and "Renée Mauperin"; that their discoveries in art, which were to influence a new generation of painters and craftsmen, were trivial and fruitless; that they altogether "loathed" the world of "the impoverished, the defeated, the hysterical"; that they had no profound influence on the art and content of the modern novel. Yet there can be no dispute about the claim that their masterpiece was their "Journal"; that it embodies their world and its temper unforgettably; that it contains a superb portrait gallery of the makers of a new art and literature and shows the two brothers as preeminent among those men "whose talents as commentators, or conversationalists, or *animateurs* were a precious leaven in the society of their time"; that, in short, it is among the world's great diaries, and that it would be hard to name a more entertaining one.

Particularly for the present-day reader. The world to which the Goncourts introduce us, with their complete entrée to its inner circles of society and art, is the one out of whose ferment and enthusiasms the social ideas and aesthetic forms of our own emerged. It is the Paris of Manet's and Renoir's early pictures, of Degas's and Daumier's satires, of Rops, Guys, and Garvarni, and it is conveyed with equal graphic brilliance: a city emerging, to the brothers' painful distress, from its romantic aura and Balzacian disorder toward "new boulevards that go straight on, without meandering, without the adventures of perspective, implacably a straight line, without any of the atmosphere of Balzac's world, making one think of some American Babylon of the future." In its cafes and studios, garrets, drawing-rooms, and theaters the romantic was "not yet regimented in a flawlessly civilized society in which he loses complete possession of himself," and social justice was still a matter to torment the fastidious conscience. Within its sanctum the Goncourts held their court, attended the "princess," presided at the Magny dinners with Gautier, Sainte-Beuve, Flaubert, Renan, Taine, and Turgenev, and gleaned the details of their panorama of life —high and low—in the Second Empire.

The "Journal" has the properties of the greatest diaries: avidity, sensory keenness and dramatic understatement, a constant integrity of interest, a deft interplay of egoism and detachment, a zest for the trivial, and a sustained confidence in the historic moment. It has also, it is true, the exaggerated personal emphasis that Wilfrid Blunt considered the defect of diarists since Rousseau. The brothers insist on themselves as "emotional, nervous, unhealthily impressionable

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creatures, and therefore at times unjust"; they quote with approval Gautier's remark that they are "sick men, and that what distinguishes us from the rest is exoticism." But it was their nervous sensibility that kept their perceptions quick, just as it was their exoticism that gave them, as it gave Flaubert in "Bouvard et Pécuchet," their special vantage in seizing the casual, the tedious, and the commonplace. Their agonizing discipline as naturalists served here to lift them out of the flaccid luxury of their aesthetic tastes and gave them the ear and eye with which they caught the tone and complexion of a century. However much they failed at plays and novels, they set down their daily paragraphs with perfect felicity. They arrived at their ambition—"to show meandering humanity in its *momentary* reality"; and that is the diarist's final merit. What may surprise the reader is that he will find here not only the vital elements—caustic, passionate, pathetic, and humane—of a past moment but pronouncements on art, society, civilization, and human nature that are as valid now as they were eighty years ago.

Mr. Galantière has selected, from the nine published French volumes, entries from twenty of the Journal's forty-five years—the two crowded decades that end with the death of Jules in 1870. He has provided a biographical repertory that is one of the book's most valuable features—too laboriously smartened up with impious Rascoeisms, perhaps, but an admirable index to the characters and anecdotes of the memoirs. And he has produced a translation so fresh and fluent that it pays the Goncourts the inadvertent tribute of making it difficult to believe that outside their Journal they could possibly have been as precious and neurotic, or as prosaic and dismal, as his preface pictures them.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

The Latest Shudder

THE SEVEN WHO FLED. By Frederic Prokosch. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

IN "The Seven Who Fled," Frederic Prokosch's Harper prize novel, we find "The Asiatics" elaborated into frozen symmetry. The subject matter, though more rationalized in the second novel, is essentially the same. Asia is Mr. Prokosch's Magic Mountain. To Asia Mr. Prokosch's contemporary Europeans come, not, as one might think, to escape from reality but, as he thinks, to live cheek by jowl with it. On the hot, barren plains and the terrible mountains of Asia life achieves a super-real incandescence; burning as in a tubercular fever it transforms itself more rapidly than in Europe to its ultimate ashes. Decomposition of the flesh and degeneration of the character are in Asia accelerated; yet flesh and character, in their brief lifetime, are more intensely, extremely themselves than in the padded world of the West. For Mr. Prokosch's characters a trip through the interior of Asia automatically becomes a voyage of self-exploration, an excursion into self-consciousness. In "The Asiatics" one introspective globe-trotter, a young American, shoulders the burden of discovery and definition; in "The Seven Who Fled" the weight is distributed among seven Europeans—an Englishman, a Belgian, a Russian, a German, an Austrian, a Spanish lady, and a Frenchman.

To warrant this division of responsibility one would expect a rather sharp and meaningful differentiation of experience. Yet one finds the reverse. The outlines of personality, feeling, and behavior are blurred until the characters seem to dissolve into one another. Even the physical adventures do not differ notably from one character to the next—cold, privation, disease, and compulsive sexual erraticism are the common lot; while on the spiritual plane each person finds in Asia but one thing—heightened sensibility, which is reached via physical hardship, death or its contemplation, and memory. Searching out the meaning of life Mr. Prokosch's people come upon it in the very molecules of existence, in the assaults of natural objects and forces upon the nervous system, or, at second-hand, in the memory of former assaults made in childhood and adolescence, when the receiving apparatus was most highly tuned. Since Mr. Prokosch's characters are mere borderline cases, minor decorative personalities from the fringes of Western society, not actors but sufferers on the Western stage, they have no validity as symbols of either Europe or its respective states; and the novel breaks down into a simple catalogue of sensations, a confession of the meaninglessness of meaning. The characters, indeed, have so little personal identity, so little individual clearness of tone, that the novel in the end reduces itself to a catalogue of the author's sensations, the author's private confession.

The range of the author's sensations is narrow, and for all his admiration of intensity the sensations themselves are not very vigorous. His book is full of "little spasms," "little plans," "little gardens," "little moments." He is a connoisseur of the gentle, the tender, the delicate, the pure, the simple, the sweet, the hesitant; and an academician of the tremor. "Touching" is his favorite designation for the people he likes and the situations he relishes; and the "viciousness" and "corruption" which so much enchant him must always coexist with the gentler qualities. Thus in Mr. Prokosch's novel, for all its cosmic aspirations, its League of Nations personnel, its dedication to violence and the doctrine of extremes, the Magic Mountain becomes a dwarf flower garden, and the terror of the super-real expresses itself in an elegant *frisson.*

MARY MCCARTHY

A "Comic Conscience"

LABBY—THE LIFE OF HENRY LABOUCHERE. By Hesketh Pearson. Harper and Brothers. $3.50.

HESKETH PEARSON, in this lively study, likens his subject to Sydney Smith and Samuel Butler. Like them, he says, Henry Labouchère was a genius who saw through the establishment and whom the establishment therefore could not afford to take seriously. "Labby" might also in some ways be likened to Bernard Shaw. His wit and impudence were somewhat Shavian in quality, as were his irreverence toward the sacred cows of the upper classes and the habit, rather disconcerting even to his constituents, of refusing to sentimentalize in behalf of causes he championed.

No idealist, Labouchère played the game of politics coolly, astutely, and resourcefully for ends that were wholly disinterested and socially decent, was clear-sighted in controversy, and under a mask of irresponsible cynicism fought implacably against hypocrisy and cruelty. He shared the constituency of Northampton with Bradlaugh and was careful to refer to himself, with his tongue in his cheek, as "the *Christian* member from Northampton," but his first important speech in the House was made in behalf of Bradlaugh's right to affirm rather than take a religious oath that was repugnant to him. He fought the intrenched privilege of the established church, but he also hated the bigotry of the nonconformist conscience and stood resolutely against blue laws.

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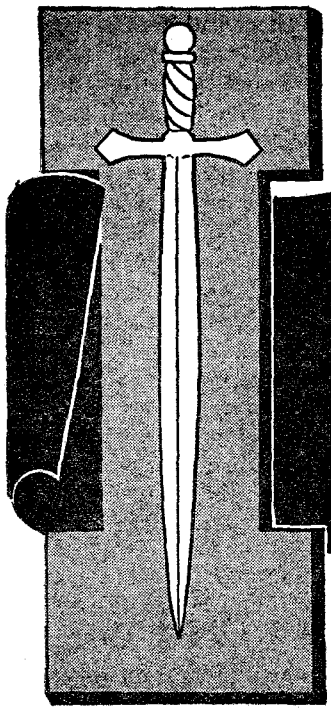

Yahweh

A NOVEL IN THE FORM OF AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

by ROBERT MUNSON GREY

"My unbounded enthusiasm for Mr. Grey's novel is mixed with envy. I would rather have written I, YAHWEH than any book I have read in many years." Charles Clayton Morrison, Editor The Christian Century

THE audacity and magnificence of Mr. Grey's conception is measured by the fact that his novel is the autobiography of no less a personage than the God of the Western world, who was given to our civilization by the Jews of the Old Testament.

This God, Yahweh, is a very *human* God. He reflects man's moral insights and also man's compromises with evil and the lesser good. Molded by man, he rises only so high as man himself will let him—he goes up and down in history with human aspiration or the lack of it. The vast sweep of history, from the days of Abraham down to Hitler and the coronation of George VI of England in 1937, is portrayed as seen by Yahweh himself, the chief Actor in the dramatic episodes that have shaped the modern world. Each event is told, each character is presented, not as it appeared to men, but in the light of its effect upon Yahweh, the God of Western civilization.

The reader will see the contemporary world situation in a wholly new perspective. The book will provoke controversy as to its meaning for the nations, for religion, for human progress. It is a powerful drama of the spiritual history of the West and of the fate toward which modern civilization is rushing.

The author's style is lighted up with a humor now gentle, now cutting. His dramatic power is held under full control, leaving the reader haunted with cryptic meanings and never overwhelmed with gratuitous interpretation or moralizing. A true work of art, I, YAHWEH thrills the emotions and kindles the imagination.

Excerpts from Pre-publication Reviews

JOSEPH FORT NEWTON, *Episcopal Clergyman.*—"I, YAHWEH took a day and half the night; there was no laying it down. It is superbly written, luminous in its insight and perfectly devastating in its implications. The story of Yahweh, and his final conversion to the Christian religion, is an epic. Thrilling is too mild a word; it is searching, subduing, awesome—the more so the nearer it comes to our own tangled, tormented times. Not in many a day have I read a book that stirred me so deeply, and gave me more furiously to think; it made me want to be a Christian for three whole days. Nay, it will haunt me for many a day ahead."

L. O. HARTMAN, *Editor Zion's Herald.*—"This book will shake up the Christian world. The conservatives will regard it as atheistic and even blasphemous. The sponsors of the 'Finite God' will hail it with satisfaction as a new ally. Discerning men and women, however, will see in this daring novel something deeper."

GUY EMERY SHIPLER, *Editor The Churchman.*—"Done with artistry and alluring insight. Here is a story of religion, dramatic and potent, which blasts away vast areas of rock with which man has overlaid truth."

NORMAN THOMAS, *Socialist Leader.*—"Interesting, original, powerful."

ALBERT C. DIEFFENBACH, *The Boston Transcript.*—"It baffles, antagonizes, inspires and stimulates. . . . An extraordinary style. . . . Yahweh reflects shockingly the kind of people we actually are. . . . Before the simple Galilean who talks of a 'Father' stands Yahweh, your god and mine, discredited, embarrassed, yet always conscious that there is something higher to which he does not attain. . . . This remarkable story of mankind will be called sacrilegious by some persons who have not caught up with the truth about themselves and their god."

KIRTLEY F. MATHER, *Harvard University.*—"No wonder the publishers were, as they confess, 'excited' by this manuscript. It is an amazing piece of work. Mr. Grey has produced a masterpiece which will undoubtedly have a deep and beneficial impact upon contemporary thought."

GAIUS GLENN ATKINS, *Auburn Theological Seminary.*—"I think it is by any test a remarkable piece of work. . . . The technique is difficult and daring but it is entirely permissible and defensible. . . . A book which is bound to start a long line of comment and discussion."

EDWIN McNEILL POTEAT, *Baptist Clergyman.*—"Enthusiastic! I, YAHWEH will win warm admiration and provoke stout protest."

VIDA D. SCUDDER, *Wellesley College.*—"Some readers may feel that the author is skating on thin ice, but to me he seems entirely reverent. I wonder whether he was inspired by the old Gnostic heresy which identified Jehovah with Satan? That has always been to me a tempting thought. The ironical passages in the book seem to me the best, as the delightful dealings of Hitler with Yahweh, and the irresistible account of the formulation of the Trinitarian doctrine."

RAYMOND ROBINS, *Social Economist.*—"A book of extraordinary daring, originality, power and timeliness. The most challenging book on the religious conception of Hebrews and Christians."

CARL S. PATTON, *Pacific School of Religion.*—"A great book! It illustrates the old truth that the gods are made in the image of men and gives a hint that there is a God who is *not* so made. The extent of the author's biblical, historical and philosophical learning and his use of all this learning in a story that holds the interest throughout—all this is unique. I was greatly taken with the book."

HARRY ELMER BARNES, *Historian and Journalist.*—"The book is an admirable combination of scholarly knowledge and popular exposition. The conception is audacious but thoroughly sound."

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Labby at one period of his career had been a stage-manager, and he always put on a good show. Even his enemies must at times laugh with him and at themselves. They frequently took refuge in the belief that they could laugh him off, and in a sense they could. Actually he accomplished little enough. For all his political astuteness he was too honest, too individual, too indifferent to the spoils to become really influential in British politics. He was, in Mr. Pearson's happy phrase, a "comic conscience," and the easiest course for his contemporaries was to enjoy the comedy and ignore the conscience. Labby understood and accepted this as imperturbably as he did everything else. He even fostered this attitude and traded on it to help Gladstone and Parnell behind the scenes in the fight for Irish home rule. It is not the smallest merit of Mr. Pearson's delightful biography that while it in no way slights the anecdotal side of its subject, it also presents his sound and serious core.

MARTHA GRUENING

Behind Tomorrow's Headlines

THE PRESS AND WORLD AFFAIRS. By Robert W. Desmond. With an Introduction by Harold J. Laski. D. Appleton-Century Company. $4.

A NEW YORK newspaper in 1937 is about as different from a New York newspaper of Horace Greeley's or even of James Gordon Bennett's day as a 1937 streamlined automobile is from the old-fashioned buggy. A history of that change and an account of how today's news is handled—roughly comparable to the manuals for car owners issued by the motor manufacturers—are given in Dr. Desmond's comprehensive book. For such a critical judgment of newspapers as the Consumers' Union offers about cars, however, the reader will have to look elsewhere.

News capital by news capital—London, Paris, Tokyo, Moscow, Buenos Aires—Dr. Desmond tells precisely how news is handled: where the correspondent gets his news, how he assesses it, how he races to transmit it, what he pays for transmission, and how it is handled in the home offices. He reports upon the state of censorship in various countries and, with a certain disciplined discretion, observes the control of news in "free" countries like England, where the press, though "uncensored," is "disciplined." He quotes instructions to the muzzled and chained Italian press, reports upon indirect censorship through the cable companies in Argentina, and describes the forthright methods of the Russian Foreign Office. The attentive reader will find the book, especially its plummy footnotes, a mine of significant facts.

"Newspapers," Dr. Desmond, who is an academician with practical newspaper experience behind him, comments in an all too brief summary, "are the products of three autocratic groups—the persons who own them, the persons who make them, and the persons who read them. . . . The reader, however, has the last word. . . . It is the audience-response, very largely, that makes so many newspapers dull, standardized, heavy-witted, and elemental in their handling of everything that matters." Whereupon Dr. Desmond hopefully suggests that public education will help.

Mr. Laski in his introduction cuts deeper. "Our news system," he recognizes, "is a reflection of our social system; there will be no vital change in the one unless there is also a vital change in the other." The newspaper is a part of a big-business world. In Horace Greeley's day an enterprising idealist might found a newspaper and make it count. Today

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a metropolitan newspaper is no longer a mere million-dollar affair; it calls for tens of millions. It cannot afford risks; it depends not upon class—not on any class—circulation but upon mass circulation, which means that it cannot afford seriously to offend any effectively literate and articulate group of the population. It is almost as standardized as radio, more so than the movies.

"One of the most heartening things in the post-war world," Mr. Laski remarks, "is the number of foreign correspondents who have genuinely tried to keep the public honestly informed." That is true; the record of the American newshawks under the dictatorships (Dr. Desmond properly notes that the American newspapers today have the best-informed, most alert, and most independent corps of foreign correspondents in newspaper history) has often been heroic; the continuity of the gallant record seems almost miraculous. Perhaps one reason for the miracle is that the foreign reporters are farther removed from the influence of the home office, an influence far subtler and more refined, yet perhaps more pervasive, than the simple-minded Upton Sinclairs used to make out. But now that dictatorial governments, through politically controlled shipping lines and other enterprises, advertise, some of this independence may be lost.

Into the subtler influences Dr. Desmond seldom goes. His book is as thorough a piece of research, and almost as free from dangerous wonderings, as any foundation report.

LEWIS GANNETT

An Anti-Slavery Saint

THE GREATEST AMERICAN WOMAN: LUCRETIA MOTT. By Lloyd C. M. Hare. The American Historical Society, New York. $3.

LUCRETIA MOTT would have been the first to protest against her designation as America's greatest woman. No one can deny that she was a rare and saint-like person with an unusual mind; that in a day when it was considered intolerable that women should take part in any political movement or unsex themselves by even attending a public meeting, she was an unusually advanced thinker. More than that, she was an excellent Quaker preacher, being one of the Hicksite leaders who caused the schism in the Quaker church. As a campaigner for freedom in slavery days she was perhaps unsurpassed among the women leaders in her ability to make converts because of the charm, the modesty, and the simplicity of her bearing. Like Garrison, to whose wing of the Abolition movement she belonged, she soon found that she could not confine herself merely to advocating freedom for the slave, and so she bravely bore her testimony in the cause of peace, temperance, and the emancipation of women; indeed, there were few good causes which this group did not espouse. Nevertheless, Mr. Hare has not justified the title of his book. It would have been kinder not to raise this question about Lucretia Mott when there was so much else of interest to be said about her. Her work and her mind, so unusually open to new ideas, speak for themselves.

Unfortunately, Mr. Hare has given us a pedestrian volume, without literary quality or any dramatic portrayal of Lucretia Mott's manifold activities. The main facts of her life and her husband's life are here sincerely and correctly stated. They were almost lifelong residents of Philadelphia, where their home was the center of Abolition activities, to which they gave more of their devotion than to anything else save their church. Being devout followers of Garrison, they were never

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repelled by the heat of his language or by his attacks upon the recreant churches. Lucretia Mott herself said that the worst of the anti-slavery struggle "is that we should hear this institution claimed as sanctioned by the Bible. It is the grossest perversion of the Bible, and many ministers have thus turned over its pages unworthily, to find testimonies in favor of slavery. 'Woe unto him that useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him naught for his work.' This is what we should quote." In her forty-seventh year Mrs. Mott went to London as a delegate to the first World Anti-Slavery Convention, only to be refused a seat as a delegate because of her sex. But she made a great impression none the less. The Dublin *Weekly Herald* spoke of her thus:

> Opinions differ materially as to whether Clarkson, Buxton, O'Connell, Garrison, Thompson, Sturge, or Birney were the greatest men, but nobody doubted that Lucretia Mott was the *lioness* of the convention. She is a thin, petite, dark-complexioned woman, about fifty years of age. She has striking intellectual features and bright, vivacious eyes. This lady has the enviable celebrity of being one of the most undaunted, insistent, able, and indefatigable friends of the slaves, being paramount even amongst the female Abolitionists of America.

Mrs. Mott was a difficult antagonist, and not only because of the charm of her presence, which moved Thomas Wentworth Higginson to exclaim: "Such a face and such a regal erectness! Nobody else ever stood upright before. She said but little in the meeting, but that so clear and sagacious and wise; and there was such an instinct of her superiority, that she rules like a queen on the platform. . . ." She had a quiet humor that often turned the laugh upon her antagonists, and by her earnestness and dignity she easily silenced ridicule and sneers.

The freeing of the slaves did not bring an end to her crusading activities. She survived her husband thirteen years; and until she died, in 1880, continued to fight for free and natural religion, for woman suffrage and social emancipation, for peace and against war, for the freed men and for her own Quaker faith. She never lost her interest in the progress of the world and was always ready to adapt her ideas to changing standards and social attitudes. Some day these things will be set forth about her in a more inspiring and moving volume than Mr. Hare's; and they should be, for whether she was the greatest American woman or not, Mrs. Mott was beyond doubt unsurpassed in her fineness and devotion.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Spoon River Again

THE TIDE OF TIME. By Edgar Lee Masters. Farrar and Rinehart. $3.

THIS book, Mr. Masters's fourth within the year, is a chronicle of Ferrisburg, Illinois, and of its first family from the time of the town's foundation in 1822 under the land grants of the War of 1812 through the tumultuous century of American life which followed. It is concerned chiefly with the story of Leonard Westerfield Atterberry, one of Jefferson's natural aristocrats, whose liberalism came into conflict with the stubborn mediocrity of his Illinois village and whose promise was defeated by his environment. It is the tale of just one of the lives wasted by the tide of time, many of them potentially richer than this of a near-genius who had the determination of a U. S. Grant but lacked the favor of the "world spirit."

Mr. Masters had a more ambitious project in mind than

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the story of a liberal lawyer in a small town when he set about the writing of this book, but he has not realized his larger scheme. There are indications that he hoped to reveal the ways of history by studying the life of a small community through years of struggle and change; that he intended his panorama of a century of American life to show cause and effect at work in the ways of small lives. In short, he hoped to find out what made the people of the "Spoon River Anthology" what they were. But the task proved too much for him, and his would-be profundities wreck the whole scheme.

The book, then, is something less than a prosy "Spoon River." The sprawling, formless narrative stumbles through nearly seven hundred closely printed pages with only a few vivid passages to redeem its tonelessness. There are too many inept attempts to connect the course of small lives with the great events that were taking place at the same time. Mr. Masters does not handle historical material with ease, and the book only comes to life when he is dealing with the Middle Western psychology which he has already made familiar. It is an ambitious failure, swamped by careless writing and irrelevant detail, and when at its close Mr. Masters asks, "What does all this mean as an ultimate thing?" and answers, "It may mean nothing," the reader is only too inclined to agree.

MASON WADE

MUSIC

Salzburg, 1937

THERE was more to be heard in Salzburg than I can discuss here; and I shall speak chiefly of opera, which was chiefly what led me there this summer. Consider merely what operas were offered. Of the ten, seven were great classics—by which I mean works that contain some of the most effective and affecting dramatic music ever written: Gluck's "Orpheus and Eurydice," Mozart's "Marriage of Figaro," "Don Juan," "Magic Flute," Beethoven's "Fidelio," Wagner's "Mastersingers of Nürnberg," Verdi's "Falstaff." In addition there were two notable works of this century: Strauss's "Elektra" and "Rosenkavalier." And finally there was an opportunity to hear Weber's seldom given "Euryanthe." Of all these only one—"The Mastersingers"—was given at the Metropolitan last year.

Consider also that the seven great classics were presented in a way that is beyond the conception of anyone who knows opera only as it is given at the Metropolitan. This way meant, for one thing, scenery, lighting, and costumes contrived with imagination and taste, and action carefully coordinated with words and music. Sachs exclaimed at the sight of Eva—not, as he does at the Metropolitan, at the sight of the conductor; he exclaimed when she appeared at his window—not before; and she appeared from the left, where her home is in relation to Sachs's—not from the right. Such precision, which achieved possibly its most triumphant result in "Figaro," was only one manifestation of a stagecraft that solved other problems as triumphantly. On a stage so small as to create an insoluble problem in the last scene of "The Mastersingers," the counterpoint of action in the washbasket scene of "Falstaff" must be considered a triumph.

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But in opera the drama proceeds in the music at the same time as on the stage; and in "Fidelio," "The Magic Flute," "The Mastersingers," and "Falstaff" the beauty and perfection for the eye created by stage designers (Holzmeister, Kautsky, Wildermann) and directors (Graf, Salvini, Wallerstein) were paralleled by the beauty and perfection created for the ear by Toscanini. As a conductor Toscanini reveals the same feeling for the medium of music that Mozart does as a composer; in this respect Mozart surpasses all his fellows; and it is in Mozart's music therefore that this quality of Toscanini's work is revealed most strikingly. A Toscanini performance ravishes our ears with its aural textures; and no composer has ever remotely approached Mozart in his ability to combine in ravishing textures the sounds of strings, winds, and voices. It was therefore in Toscanini's performance of "The Magic Flute"—in the ensembles, above all, employing the orchestra and the voices of the Three Ladies, Tamino, and Papageno—that the most miraculous manifestations were heard of a skill that accomplished such miracles in the other operas—for example, the distinctness of every melodic strand in the densely woven texture of "The Mastersingers."

Toscanini's feeling for the medium reveals itself also in the extraordinary plastic quality of music as he plays it—in the sharply defined contour of a note, a phrase; and in the unfailing organic coherence of the musical continuum, a tonal and rhythmic coherence that is inflexible in its flexibility. Each sound, in a succession that is suppleness itself, falls inevitably but easily into exactly the right place in time with exactly the right weight and color of tone—right, that is, in relation to what precedes and follows. It is this that is largely responsible for the precision of execution in his orchestral performances; and in the performances of opera this summer the precision extended beyond the orchestra pit to the stage: there were no discrepancies between orchestra and singers to make one physically uncomfortable, but always a unanimity that occasionally seemed beyond the humanly possible—for example, the pause, followed by a staccato "No!" of Falstaff and the orchestra as sharp as a needle point.

The difference between these productions and those of "Figaro," "Don Juan," "Orpheus," and "Euryanthe" conducted by Bruno Walter was the difference between Toscanini and Walter as musicians and, ultimately, as persons. "When Walter comes to something beautiful," one person remarked, "he melts; Toscanini suffers." In "Figaro" Walter melted only over Cherubino's "No so più cosa son"; for the rest a delightful performance of the score provided, with the perfect staging, one of the finest productions of the festival. He also did an excellent job with "Don Juan"; but the beautiful production of "Orpheus" was spoiled by a performance of the music that was often emotionally, and at times even technically, sloppy; and I did not like his treatment of "Euryanthe."

All that remains to say is that the perfection in ensemble offered by the best Salzburg productions was achieved with an excellent orchestra and chorus—from the Vienna State Opera—and by artists of whom only a few were in one way or another outstanding: in "Fidelio" Lotte Lehmann, Roswaenge, and Kipnis; in "Figaro" Pinza and Novotna; in "Don Juan" Pinza and Dino Borgioli; in "Magic Flute" Domgraf-Fassbänder and Kipnis; in "Orpheus" and "Euryanthe" Thorborg; in "Falstaff" Stabile.

One of the orchestral concerts was conducted by Artur Rodzinski, whose excellent work with the New York Philharmonic last season made the treatment he received from

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the orchestra's management scandalous. In Salzburg, instead of choosing works suited to the acoustic conditions of the small Mozarteum, he undertook to show what he could do with Brahms's Fourth and Ravel's "Daphnis and Chloe," and almost blew the roof off with the noise he made. He also undertook to show what an American composer could do with the symphony; but the example he chose—Samuel Barber's Symphony—is a work that testifies only to the fluency which, understandably, leads judges to award Pulitzer prizes and Prix de Rome. Barber is able to produce sounds in great profusion; as yet he has nothing that gives these sounds meaning, organic relation, direction.

And in the closing days of the festival Furtwängler conducted a performance of Beethoven's Ninth—a defacement of the work by a technically brilliant but musically tasteless effect-monger. Worse still was the fact that his last rehearsal, on the day of a performance of "Fidelio," left the horn-players with weakened lips, with the result that Toscanini's performance of the opera was marred by false notes from the horns.

Other concerts were conducted by Toscanini and Walter; Lehmann gave her annual lieder recital with Walter at the piano; there was the annual performance on two pianos by Robert and Heinz Scholz of Bach's "Art of Fugue," which Bach intended, I believe, as a work not to be played through but to be known from study, and which I do not think can be apprehended from a performance. For the rest, Salzburg offered more than one person could hear, and some things that could be missed—among them the concerts and operas conducted by Knappertsbusch.

B. H. HAGGIN

Drama: 1776 and All That

LAWRENCE STALLINGS is credited with the book for "Virginia" (Center Theater), and Mr. Stallings is known to be interested in American history. Unfortunately, however, few evidences of the fact are to be found in the plot he has put together along the lines consecrated by a thousand romantic operettas, and he seems, like everyone else concerned in the production, to have had chiefly in mind some simple excuse for filling the stage with marching men or dancing girls. Even Lee Simonson's settings, though beautiful in their way, are as literal as a postcard, and no one has done anything calculated to give an unpleasant surprise to the hordes who will get what they expect—a big show unusually lavish in the most usual way. One assumes that only something very big can even begin to fill so huge a stage or reach out across so huge an auditorium, and I wonder if those responsible for the production were as surprised as I was to realize that a Punch and Judy show of approximately conventional dimensions did, in the few moments allotted to it, not only fill the stage but capture the attention of the whole audience about as well as anything in the proceedings. Perhaps that means that anything really fundamental in its appeal would do as much, and that what one requires is not several hundred persons but two or three that are really vivid. Costumes are unusually good and so is the show—of its kind.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

[The French film version of Maxim Gorki's "The Lower Depths," which was awarded the French Critics' Prize, will be reviewed next week by Mark Van Doren.]

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Letters to the Editors

Wheeler Looks Ahead

Dear Sirs: Mr. Neuberger's study of Senator Wheeler's problems in his home state which appeared in *The Nation* of August 28 shares the wishful thinking of a good many embittered liberals who have consigned shrewd "B. K." to an untimely political death. The state's senior Senator has more than three years in which to repair his political fences, and he is riding those fences now with a vigor which confounds prophets of his demise.

Wheeler is conducting a virtual election campaign in Montana in September, staging a whirlwind auto-and-plane tour which will carry him to picnics, Labor Day celebrations, "farmer-labor" conferences, anywhere that a crowd will assemble. One of the things he will stress in those appearances, and one thing Mr. Neuberger did not mention, is his leadership in labor's fight for publicly owned power at Fort Peck. It is not the "patronage" of Fort Peck that is important to the state or to Wheeler; that is negligible. It is power. Wheeler has worked whole-heartedly for such a project, and he forced a Fort Peck power bill through the Senate in the closing days of Congress. The measure died in the House adjournment stampede, but that was not his fault. Labor wants that power and knows that Wheeler worked for it.

Unquestionably Wheeler's court fight hurt him tremendously, though many in the labor movement, recalling past favors, hesitated to pass judgment. And counterbalancing his "fighting against God" phrase, to which Mr. Neuberger says many took exception, there was that other phrase spoken by Vice-President Garner: "Burt, write your own ticket!" Montana loves a winner, even if he's wrong!

Mr. Neuberger is right in minimizing the influence of Montana's negligible middle class; but I don't think the court issue has sufficient imaginative appeal to Wheeler's worker and farmer supporters to become a major factor in the election campaign three years hence. Wheeler can think of too many other issues in the meantime. It was personal loyalty to the President, moreover, not support for the court plan, which aroused those who most bitterly denounced Wheeler during the first flush of reaction against him. This Mr. Neuberger recognized of course.

Vengeful liberals, come not to bury Wheeler—yet! KINSEY HOWARD

Great Falls, Mont., September 8

Psychiatry Too Exclusive

Dear Sirs: Apparently Dr. Karl A. Menninger, who reviewed Albert Deutsch's "The Mentally Ill in America" in *The Nation* of August 28, resents the fact that Deutsch does not give more space to the private psychiatric hospital, such as he himself maintains in Topeka, Kansas. I wish to remind Dr. Menninger that while the average private psychiatric hospital is doing good work, it is available to but a few because of the almost prohibitive rates. On an average they have a fixed rate of $50 per week.

Since the vast majority of people cannot afford such fees, it is well that Mr. Deutsch's book is largely devoted to state institutions. More publicity should be given them. The patients confined in these state mental hospitals are indeed the "forgotten men" of America. Since patients in the state mental hospitals of the United States outnumber the patients in all other types of hospital combined, it is high time that more is known about these institutions—especially since in thirty states they still use such medieval methods as the straitjacket, the lockbelt, and the lockroom.

Dr. Menninger finds it "rather amusing" to recall that the recommendation for raising the wage scale of attendants in state hospitals was made 134 years ago by Benjamin Rush. I fail to see the humor in such a situation; to me it is a sad and tragic thing that people in direct attendance upon our mentally ill are so poorly prepared to care for them; in most cases they know absolutely nothing about mental illness. Patients in many of the state institutions for the mentally ill become incurable because of the methods employed. Certainly many of these patients could be restored to mental health and happiness in a comparatively short time under the proper treatment.

Will the time ever come when the methods of modern psychiatry can be made available to the average person? How long must we wait for the methods used in such splendid mental hospitals as Phipps and Bellevue to be duplicated in all our state mental hospitals? I feel angry whenever I say "mental hospital." Let's call them by their right names, insane asylums, and let's get rid of them.

DELLA PEREA

Waxahachie, Tex., September 3

Awakening the Mass Mind

Dear Sirs: Max Lerner's suggestion that there be a cheap edition of "Selected Supreme Court Decisions" is all right, but cheap editions will not suffice today for the education of the masses. If civilization can only be saved from catastrophe by education, it would be well for those who desire to perpetuate democratic principles to find out whether it is possible to awaken the mass mind to an appreciation of sound ideas and methods of procedure. Cheap editions of scholarly works will not turn the trick in a time like this, for the simple reason that the masses have little time to read, and besides it is all a lot of us can do to provide bread and butter.

In one of your book reviews the statement is made that "every force evolves a form." The question is, Is liberalism a force or a fizzle? If liberalism is a force, it will have to evolve a pedagogical form for the masses of our day. If we had a national radio hour called the "Voice of Criticism" to clarify issues, puncture conceits, expose falsity and corruption, and present to the masses the cream of analytical thought in an intelligible form, with an offering of five- and ten-cent tracts, there might be some hope of teaching people to think cautiously. Of course there would have to be a voice at the mike competent to match those of the crackpots and demagogues in appeal. ROBERT W. DUEL

St. Paul, Minn., September 7

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